Power and Identity in Roman Cyprus

by

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A note on the study and presentation of inscriptions

To ensure an accurate reading of epigraphic material that has been cited in this study, two research trips to Southern Cyprus were arranged in April 2011 and April 2012. The primary aims of these research trips were to visit the remains of the Roman *poleis* and to consult epigraphic material firsthand. Where possible inscriptions held in the museums of Cyprus or *in situ* at archaeological sites have been examined, but this was not without its problems. Although arrangements were made for inscriptions to be studied, on several occasions the permission that had been officially granted by the Department of Antiquities to access material was denied on site. On other occasions, access was granted to material that had not been arranged to be studied. The political situation regarding Northern Cyprus has not made it possible for excavated material that is currently held there to be consulted. Overall this has resulted in an uneven examination of the evidence for this study. To compensate for this inconsistency, squeezes of the relevant inscriptions for this study have been consulted. This has included the squeeze collection compiled by the *Inscriptiones Graecae* held at the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften and also the Terence Bruce Mitford squeeze collection held at the University of Cambridge.

Inscriptions are presented in the chapters of this study where discussion requires the detailed examination of a text. It was not the intention of this investigation to present a full epiraphic apparatus for the study of the inscriptions. Therefore, this thesis presents a condensed apparatus which comprises a restoration of the text that the author feels is most reliable, a translation of the inscription, and a stemma of alternative restorations of the text. References to other inscriptions and the present location of the stone are provided in the footnotes. All translations are the author's own unless otherwise stated.

Symbols used:

[...] indicates a lacuna or gap in the original text, not restored by the editor.
[- - -] indicates a lacuna or gap in the original text, not restored by the editor.
[abc] letters missing from the original text due to lacuna, restored by the editor.
a(bc) indicates letters that have been added to complete an abbreviation of the engraver.
[[abc]]indicate that part of the text has been deliberately erased.
{abc } indicates explanatory notes or enclose superfluous letters accidentally added by the engraver.
<abc> encloses letters accidentally ommitted by the engraver.
. . . . indicates traces of letters on the surface, insufficient for restoration by the editor.
- - - - dashes represent an uncertain number of lost or illegible letters.
folium indicates a decorative motif that is part of the inscription.
italics denotes text offered by the editor that is thought to be certain.
vacat indicates that the engraver has left vacant the remainder of the line.
v indicates a letter-space left vacant by the engraver, each *v* representing a single space.

Declaration

The author states that this thesis is their own work. The author also confirms that this thesis, or any part of it, has not been submitted for a degree at another university.

PhD Abstract

This thesis explores individual and collective identities and experiences of Roman power by considering the roles of insiders (Cypriots) and outsiders (non Cypriots).

Chapter one presents the history of scholarship on Roman Cyprus and considers the impact of previous studies, shaped by the model of Romanisation, on studies of Roman Cyprus today. Chapter two examines the Roman annexation and administration of Cyprus in order to contextualise later analysis of Cypriot experiences of, and reactions to, Rome. This chapter also re-considers evidence for the proconsuls of Roman Cyprus from 58 BC to the mid fourth century AD. Chapter three explores how Roman citizens and high profile visitors from outside the island, along with locally enfranchised elites, expressed their identity in public monuments. For comparison, the monuments of individuals who did not obtain citizenship are briefly considered. Chapter four investigates collective power and identity by turning to the *poleis* of Roman Cyprus. Central to this investigation is the exploration of the construction of civic identity in the Roman period. Evidence for the use of mythology, particularly foundation myths, and local religious practices are considered in the study of each *polis*. Chapter five considers the overall identity of Roman Cyprus first by examining evidence for the representation of individuals and the *poleis* of Cyprus in monuments outside the island. Next, this chapter examines the activities and monuments of the *koinon* of Cyprus. The final chapter ties together the evidence for individual and collective identities explored in chapters two to five to summarise how Roman power was experienced in Cyprus and what identities emerged in response. Finally, this chapter considers what elements comprised the identities expressed under Roman rule and whether there was a particular quality that could be considered as exclusively 'Cypriot' under Rome.

Abbreviations

BSA	*Annual of the British School at Athens.*
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology.*
AJP	*American Journal of Philology.*
AnnÉp	*L'Année Épigraphique.*
ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt.*
Arch.Pap.	*Archiv für Papyrusforschung und Verwandte Gebiete.*
Athen.Mitt	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*.
BASP	*Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists.*
BCH	*Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.*
BE	*Bulletin Épigraphique.*
CCEC	*Cahiers Centre D' Études Chypriotes.*
CE	*Chronique D'Égypte.*
CEG	*Carmina Epigraphica Graeca Saeculorum.*
CIA	*Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum*, after 1903 known as *IG*.
CIG	*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.*
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.*
CNRS	*Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique*.
EE	*Ephemeris Epigraphica.*
Epig.	*Epigraphica*.
Fouilles des Delphes, III	*Fouilles de Delphes, III. Épigraphie*. Bourguet, É. ed. (1929), Fasc. 1, *Inscriptions de l'entrée du sanctuaire au trésor des Athéniens*, Paris.

	Colin, G. ed. (1909-13), Fasc. 2, *Inscriptions du trésor des Athéniens*, Paris. Daux, G. and Salać, A. eds. (1932); Fasc. 3, Vol. I, *Inscriptions depuis le trésor des Athéniens jusqu'aux bases de Gélon*, Paris. Daux, G. ed. (1943) Fasc. 3, Vol. 2, *Inscriptions depuis le trésor des Athéniens jusqu'aux bases de Gélon*, Paris. Colin, G. ed. (1930), Fasc. 4, Vol. 1, *Inscriptions de la terrasse du temple et la région nord du sanctuaire*, Paris. Flacelière, R. ed. (1954), Fasc. 4, Vol. 2, *Inscriptions de la terrasse du temple et la région nord du sanctuaire*, Paris. Plassart, A. ed. (1970), Fasc. 4, Vol. 3, *Inscriptions de la terrasse du temple et la région nord du sanctuaire*, Paris. Pouilloux, J. ed. (1976), Fasc. 4, Vol. 4, *Inscriptions de la terrasse du temple et la région nord du sanctuaire*, Paris.
FGrH	Jacoby, F. (1923 -) *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, Leiden: Brill.
GIBM IV	*The Collection of Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum.*
ICA	Nicolaou, I. (1963-) *Inscriptiones Cypriae Alphabeticae*, in *Berytus* 14 (1963), and thereafter, in *RDAC*.
ICS	Masson, O. (1961) *Les inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques: recueil critique et commenté*, Paris: E. de Boccard.
I.Delos	Durrbach, F., et al. eds. (1926 -) *Inscriptions de Délos*, Paris.
IGR III	Cagnat, R., et al. eds. (1901-1927) *Inscriptiones graecae ad res romanas pertinentes*, 3 vols. Paris.
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae.*
I.Kition	Yon, M., et al. eds. (2004) *Kition dans les textes. Testimonia littéraires et épigraphiques et Corpus des inscriptions. Kition-Bamboula, V.*, Paris.

I.Kourion	Mitford, T. B. (1971) *The Inscriptions of Kourion*, American Philosophical Society.
ILS	Dessau, H. ed. (1892-1916) *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, 3 Vols., Berlin.
Inscr.It.	*Inscriptiones Italiae Academiae Italicae Consociatae ediderunt*.
I.Paphos	Cayla, J. B. (2003) *Les inscriptions de Paphos: Corpus des inscriptions alphabétiques de Palaipaphos, de Néa Paphos et de la chôra paphienne*, PhD Dissertation, L'université de Paris IV-Sorbonne.
I.Salamis	Mitford, T. B. and Nicolaou, I. K. (1974) *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions from Salamis*, Salamis, Vol. 6, Nicosia, Cyprus.
JCS	*The Journal of Cypriot Studies.*
JHS	*The Journal of Hellenic Studies*.
JMA	*The Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology*.
JRA	*The Journal of Roman Archaeology*.
JRS	*The Journal of Roman Studies*.
LBW	*Le Bas & Waddington, Voyage archéologique*.
LGPN	Fraser, P. M., and Matthews, E. eds. (1987-) *The Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, Clarendon Press, Oxford.
LIMC	Ackerman, H. C., and Gisler J. R. eds. (1981-99) *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, Zurich.
MAMA	*Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antique*.
MEFRA	*Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Antiquité.*
MDAI	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*.
OGIS	*Orientus Graecae Inscriptiones Selectae.*

OpArch	*Opuscula Archaeologica*.
OpAth	*Opuscula Atheniensia.*
PBSA	*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.*
PcPhs	*Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*, Cambridge.
PIR	*Prosopographia Imperii Romani.*
RA	*Revue Archéologique.*
RDAC	*Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.*
RE	*Paulys Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*.
REG	*Revue des Études Grecques.*
RPC	Burnett, A. M., Amandry, M., and Ripollès, P. P. (1992) *Roman Provincial Coinage*, London: British Museum Press with Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
Salamine de Chypre XIII	Pouilloux, J., Roesch, P. and Marcillet-Jaubert, J. (eds.) (1987) *Salamine de Chypre XIII: Testimonia Salaminia 2, Corpus Épigraphique*, Paris: Diffusion de Boccard.
SB	Shackleton Bailey editions of Cicero's Letters, *Ad Familiares* and *Ad Atticum*. See Bibliography for full references.
SCE	Gjerstad, E., et al. eds. (1934-) *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition. Finds and results of the excavations in Cyprus, 1927-1931*, Stockholm.
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*.
YCS	*Yale Classical Studies.*
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*.

Chapter One. Introduction: Cyprus the 'hub' of the Mediterranean.

Cyprus is the third largest island in the Mediterranean Sea, after Sicily and Sardinia, and lies in a key geographical position.[1] (Figure One) Located at a meeting point for the eastern and western worlds, merchants, traders, pilgrims, and tourists, as well as an influx of goods, customs and practices have continually passed through its landscape over the centuries. It has been recognised that the ancient Mediterranean was a 'landscape of opportunistic production' and Cyprus in particular had a lot for the taking.[2] Within this context, from its earliest history Cyprus should be considered an important hub of the Mediterranean.[3] Since antiquity, Cyprus has been famous for its abundant natural resources and most prolific of these was copper.[4] As a result, Cyprus' name and landscape became synonymous with copper.[5]

As a hub at the crossroads of civilisation, the combination of Cyprus' natural resources, geographical location, and both political and commercial connections has rendered the island a crucial, but also vulnerable, piece in the jigsaws of the many powerful empires that it has been part of, from the distant past right through to its most recent history.[6] Possession of and access to the island has been long recognised as key to the formation,

[1] Strabo, *Geographica*, 14.6.1-6; Pomponius Mela, *de Chorographia*, 2.102; Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, 2.90; 5.35.129-131; 5.36.132; 6.39.213; Claudius Ptolemy, *Geographia*, 5.14. Cf. Maier (1968), 15; Mitford (1980a), 1288; Karageorghis (1981), 8; Hadjidemetriou (2007), 9; Constantinou (2010), 23.
[2] Purcell (2005), 119.
[3] Horden and Purcell (2000), 743: the index of *The Corrupting Sea* refers to Cyprus as the hub of the Mediterranean, citing pages 393 and 549. Essential reading about the history of the Mediterranean remains: Braudel (1995) and Horden and Purcell (2000). See also Broodbank (2013).
[4] Strabo, *Geographica*, 14.6.5; Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, 7.56.195; 11.42; Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, 14.8.14-15; cf. Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, 33.27.89; 34.2; 34.20; 34.22.101-103; 34.23; 34.24; 34.25.109; 34.31; 34.32.126 for discussion on the specific qualities of Cypriot copper. For references to the earliest trade activities of Cyprus, in particular the intense mining of copper, cf. Karageorghis (1981), 9; Michaelides (1996), 139; Knapp (2008), 30, 377 and 379; Constantinou (2010), 23.
[5] Cf. Engel (1841), 11 and Oberhummer (1923), 60-1; Potter (2000), 847 on the etymology of Cyprus' name.
[6] Horden and Purcell (2000), 549.

protection, and even downfall of empires.[7] Cyprus' history and cultural identity has evolved not only in accordance with the peaceful ebb and flow of people, goods, and ideas passing through its landscape, as mentioned above, but also under the influences introduced of its conquerors or 'owners', and in turn also by the responses of the island's inhabitants. The term 'owners' seems appropriate because Cyprus has at times in its history been treated as a commodity by being gifted, traded, or sold. Perhaps the most famous of its recipients was Cleopatra VII who was symbolically given the island by Julius Caesar and then later by Mark Antony.[8] Cyprus was also sold by Richard the Lionheart to the Knights Templar; King Richard then supposedly transferred the deeds of this sale to Guy of Lusignan and gave him the island as compensation for the loss of his other kingdoms during the Crusades in 1192.[9] Cyprus today remains an unusual and striking visual melting pot of cultures. Writing in 1937, the scholar Stanley Casson praised the natural beauty of Cyprus, adding that it was one of the 'few places in the world where so many inheritances from a very remote past still exist.'[10] His words still hold true and the cultural identities of Cyprus, and the experiences of its inhabitants, are fascinating to consider; the layers of the island's history can be seen incorporated into the fabric of its everyday life today. A glance behind one's shoulder whilst crossing the border, a scar of its more recent struggles which now divides the north and south of the island, to get a snapshot of this. Paved, organised high streets bearing the visual reminders of western society characterise the capital in the south, with the common markers of global consumerism such as MacDonalds, Marks and Spencers, and Primark. In dramatic

[7] For instance, see Richard de Templo, *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, Lib.3. Cap.2. It is evident that Cyprus' geographical position and resources were important in times of unrest and conflict in the Eastern Mediterranean.
[8] Strabo, *Geographica*, 14.6.6 c.685; Plutarch, *Antony*, 36 and 54; Cassius Dio, 42.35.5-6.
[9] Richard de Templo, *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, 5.37. Cf. Hunt (1990), 178-9; Phillips (1995), 127 on the issues surrounding the gift, or possibly even sale, of Cyprus by King Richard to Guy of Lusignan. Cf. also Joachim (1989), 36-7 and Phillips (1995), 127-30.
[10] Casson (1937), 3.

contrast, on the north, a reminder of a bygone age exists on the sandy walled streets and dilapidated Ottoman houses with shops that do not carry any corporate names or familiar brands. Instead, imitations of major brands scattered across the north strive to emulate particular symbols of western life.[11] Some of these differences can be seen in the same streets where the border divides the two sides, literally carving into any building that might stand in the middle. Despite this imposed physical barrier which has come to symbolise difference, opposition, and resistance of one side to the other, many aspects of the architecture, languages, religions, local myths, and foods of the island, share common themes and are all a celebration of Cyprus' diverse and evolving history. Cyprus has the unusual ability, whether in a large or small way, to identify with many different cultures and peoples of the world. The survival of the island's striking castles, cathedrals, churches and mosques, which imitate styles from all over the world and have not been completely destroyed or erased, but simply adapted over time, are testimony to this. Two examples include the St. Sophia Cathedral (now the Selimiye Mosque) in the capital, Nicosia/Lefkoşia, and the St. Nicholas Cathedral (now the Lala Mustafa Pasha Mosque) in Famagusta/Mağusa.

This investigation will be of Cyprus' culture and society from the time of its annexation from Ptolemaic Egypt by Rome in 58 BC, to the mid fourth century AD, or more specifically the re-foundation of Salamis by Constantius II between AD 332 and 342. This study will end at this date because the re-foundation of Salamis as Constantia and as the new provincial capital of the island confirmed a major cultural and religious shift. This act by Constantius II was strategic as he had inherited the eastern portion of the Roman Empire after the death of his father Contantine the Great in AD 337;[12] while the former provincial capital

[11] Examples have included 'Kermia Fried Chicken' the logo of which bore the face of its Cypriot owner in place of Colonel Sanders, 'Pizza Hat', 'Tesko', and 'The Big Mac'.
[12] For example, Eutropius, *Breviarium*, 10.9.

Nea Paphos was geographically west facing, the new capital Constantia was firmly in the orbit of the east, more specifically Constantinople. The dates given for Cyprus' 'Roman period' vary considerably across both non- and academic sources; usually beginning with either the Roman annexation of the island in 58 BC, inexplicably 50 BC, or with the capture of Alexandria in 30 BC.[13] While this investigation will treat the Roman period as starting from the annexation of the island in 58 BC, space will be given, where relevant, for discussion about the social, and political institutions, and customs of the Ptolemaic period in order to facilitate discussion about cultural change during the Roman period.

The "R" word.

The exploration of cultural change and experience in the Roman provinces is no longer solely explained using the Romanisation model. In recent years a variety of alternative theoretical models have emerged. Whilst some have been considered useful, others have been immediately rejected as inappropriate.

Since its formulation in the late 19th and early 20th centuries the model of Romanisation has become a point of contention in Roman studies, the word that we all love to hate and yet an idea for which we cannot quite use or ignore without indulging in a lengthy explanation for its use or for its abandonment. Originally Romanisation presented the

[13] This list is not exhaustive. The following studies treat the Roman perid as beginning with its annexation in 58 BC:
Gunnis (1936), 10-1; Hill (1940), 226; Vessberg (1956), 237; Karageorghis (1968a), 200: here Karageorghis incorrectly stated that Cyprus became a Roman colony; Maier (1968), 50; Mitford (1980a), 1292-94; Karageorghis (1982), 177; Hadjidemetriou (2007), 91.
- in 50 BC: Vessberg (1956), 237.
Karageorghis (1970), 233: The Roman period is divided into three phases. Roman I 50 BC-AD 150, Roman II AD 150-AD 250 and Roman III 'From about AD 250'; repeated in Karageorghis (1981), 7; Brown and Catling (1975), ix, though this study later begins its investigation of Roman Cyprus with the annexation of the island in 58 BC.
The following studies treat the subject of Roman rule as beginning with Octavian's victory at Alexandria:
Maier and Karageorghis (1984), 11; Michaelides (1990), 110; Karageorghis, Matthäus, and Rogge eds. (2005), 230.

expansion of the Roman Empire as a beneficial, 'civilizing' process, something that was supposedly welcomed as a prompt by 'natives' for progress.[14] The theory reflected the thinking of the time surrounding the formation of modern Europe.[15] Traditionally, Romanisation presents a simplistic dichotomy of the triumph of Rome over the barbarian with regards to the interactions between Rome and the provinces. This ideology is most flamboyantly articulated by Francis Haverfield's observation: 'But the Roman Empire was the civilised world; the safety of Rome was the safety of all civilisation. Outside was the wild chaos of barbarianism…their [Rome's] phlegmatic courage saved the civilised life of Europe'.[16] The idea that Roman culture was a ready-made package to assimilate is outdated and irrelevant to Roman studies today.[17] Despite significant reconsideration and re-working of the model, as a theoretical framework for some, it has the potential to project a 'monolithic' and 'misleading' presentation of Roman conquest as a positive and passive experience. Nevertheless it is difficult to escape the notion that the model reflects how the Romans considered themselves. While Romanisation is not a Roman invention, it is clearly in line with Roman views of superiority over their subject peoples. A useful example in Roman literature of *Romanitas*, *humanitas*, and the Roman self, is the historian Tacitus' description of his father-in-law's government of the province of Britain in *De Vita Iulii Agricolae*, 21.1-2.[18]

A sweeping tour through the highs and lows of the debate is unnecessary; while frustrations have run deep about the dependency on Romanisation to explain the process of cultural change in Rome's conquered territories, the repetitive nature of investigations

[14] Cf. Haverfield (1912); Haverfield and MacDonald (1924); Freeman (1997).
[15] Bekker-Nielsen (2006), 10.
[16] Haverfield (1912), 10.
[17] Millett (1990a) and (1990b); Woolf (1998), 11.
[18] Mattingly (1997); Woolf (1998), x, and 7. For a recent, concise summary of the use of Romanisation in scholarship cf. Woolf (2001).

relaying the details of the debate have also been felt negatively by many scholars.[19] For example, Susan Alcock admitted that one reason for her 'hatred' of the word Romanisation stems from its overuse in debate.[20] As editors of a series of studies on the articulation of local cultures Peter van Dommelen and Nicola Terrenato expressed that their aim was not to hammer 'another nail in the coffin' of Romanisation.[21] Louise Revell also made it clear at the start of her book *Roman Imperialism and Local Identities*, 'this is not going to be another book about Romanisation.'[22] Finally, Robin Osborne and Carrie Vout, in their review of Andrew Wallace-Hadrill's *Rome's Cultural Revolution*, expressed their disappointment in his failure to run with his 'most crucial and important theoretical insight' concerning cultural triangulation, a process by which an individual in antiquity had to negotiate between at least three cultural identities or languages.[23] Instead he opts to take his reader through the debates surrounding archaeologists' theorising cultural identity, the Romanisation debate, and the impact of postcolonial studies on Roman studies.[24] The adoption of postcolonial theories, analogies and vocabulary as an alternative to Romanisation has been widely debated within the field of Classics and Ancient History.[25] In firmly rejecting the vocabulary of 'hybridity' and 'fusion', Wallace-Hadrill's opening discussion focuses on the place of postcolonial models in classics and ancient history as he suggests that some models from the field of sociology appear out of place in studies of antiquity as they are too specific to a particular

[19] For this reason I direct the reader to Mattingly's bibliographical essay which runs through the debate in Mattingly (2006), 541-80, and also to Mattingly (2011), 22, and footnote 87, and 'Afterword'.
[20] Alcock (2001), 227.
[21] van Dommelen and Terrenato eds. (2007), 9.
[22] Revell (2009), 9.
[23] Osborne and Vout (2010), 235.
[24] Cf. Wallace-Hadrill (2008) and Osborne and Vout (2010). For an overview of the impact of colonialism and postcolonial studies on classical studies cf. Goff (2005), 1-24 and Mattingly (2011), 27, and footnote 117.
[25] For an introduction into the debates within the field of anthropology which signal the controversy of applying postcolonial models such as creolization to studies removed from the historical framework from which they were conceived in order to debate cross-culture contact and mixing, cf. Cohen and Toninato eds. (2010), 5-6 and 11-3. On the other hand support for the use of creolization in Roman studies can be found in Webster (2001) and (2003); Mattingly (2002), 538, footnote 12. Cf. Matz (2005) for a critique of Webster (2001); and of the dangers applying postcolonial models to the study of the ancient world Wallace-Hadrill (2008), 11 and Purcell (2005).

case study in history and are not applicable to the Roman world.[26] While Wallace-Hadrill highlights the potential to investigate cultural change and identity, mostly drawing on the influential works of Homi Bhabha and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, he chooses to promote a linguistic model to the very end of his work.[27] Although 'fraught with difficulties', Wallace-Hadrill suggests that there is no reason to avoid using Romanisation and Hellenisation as terms for explaining cultural change.[28] On the other hand, David Mattingly has endeavoured to finish Ronald Syme's 'demolition job' of the term 'Romanisation' which, for Mattingly, went frustratingly unnoticed.[29] For Mattingly, justifying the use of Romanisation has become nothing more than '*grooming* a dead horse' and he has been the most insistent for the complete abandonment of the word itself.[30] He has suggested that investigations into provincial experiences and identity in antiquity should focus on concepts such as discrepant experiences, elite negotiation and emulation strategies, resistance, integration, creolization, and recognising 'global trends' in regional situations.[31] This call for more exploration into the dynamic and unpredictable components that best reflect provincial experience in the Roman Empire has not been a lone mission; Mattingly has simply been the most persistent and vocal![32] Günther Schörner's explanation of the Romanisation model, and its place in scholarship today, highlights that the issues raised about its application is a particular 'bug bear' of British scholarship. He writes, 'Gerade in der englischsprachigen Forschung wird die

[26] Wallace-Hadrill (2008), 11-2, 23. Isayev (2010), 22 who, contra this view, suggests that 'cultural processes are by their very nature dialogues between new and ongoing trends – hence they can only ever be hybrid.' Cf. also Knapp and van Dommelen (2010), 1-18 on hybrid cultures and practices.
[27] Spivak (1988); Bhabha (1990a); (1990b); and (1994); Wallace-Hadrill (2008), 3-37; Osborne and Vout (2010), 236.
[28] Wallace-Hadrill (2008), 28.
[29] Mattingly (2011), 22; Cf. Syme (1988), 64.
[30] Mattingly (2002), 537. Cf. Mattingly (1997), (2002), (2004), (2006), (2010) and (2011).
[31] Mattingly (2002), 537-9.
[32] For instance, Webster (2001) and (2003); Hingley (2003); (2005), (2010); Quinn (2003); Knapp (2008), 2 and 54; van Dommelen and Terrenato eds. (2007); Revell (2009), 9-10; Antonaccio (2010); Hales and Hodos eds. (2010); Knapp and van Dommelen (2010).

Romanisation als ein totes Pferd bezeichnet, oder es wird von ihr nur als dem *R-word* gesprochen'.[33] Schörner explains that in German scholarship there is no such preoccupation with the political and historical baggage of the model: 'Im Deutschen hat man zudem den Vorteil, sprachlich eindeutig zwischen Romanisierung und Romanisation unterscheiden zu können...Wenn im Folgenden immer von Romanisierung gesprochen wird, dann in einer übergreifenden, beide Termini umfassenden Bedeutung. Zudem sollte man sich vergegenwärtigen, dass Romanisierung immer den Prozess meint, nicht dass Ergebnis dieses Prozesses. Festzuhalten ist somit, dass Romanisierung den politischen, ökonomischen und kulturellen Wandel nach Eingliederung in das Imperium Romanum bedeutet.'[34] For Schörner, Romanisation and Romanisierung remain useful and an almost irreplaceable model for explaining cultural change in the Roman provinces.[35] In many ways this distinction between 'process' and 'result' can be viewed as helpful. Furthermore Schörner demonstrates that while the case is put convincingly by Mattingly, the notion that Romanisation should be completely abandoned as an explanation for cultural change and experience in the Roman provinces is not upheld in scholarship elsewhere. Nevertheless, it is clear that the influence of postcolonial studies has been important, and necessary, to the development of Roman studies. Therefore, the application of postcolonial inspired theoretical models and their vocabulary still need to be utilised with caution and careful consideration of the case study at hand.[36]

[33] Schörner, G. (2005), v.
[34] Schörner, G. (2005), v.
[35] Schörner, G. (2005), v, vi, and xii.
[36] For instance, see Chaudenson (2001), 314 for attitudes surrounding the application of the Creolization model to other periods of history.

Culture, Identity Studies, (Discrepant) Experiences, and Roman Power.

Roman studies continue to be driven by explorations of dialogues between Rome and the provinces. A consequence of the re-evaluation of the Romanisation model for studying cultural change has been the dominance of the search for ancient identities as an alternative means for understanding how the Roman Empire was experienced by a wide variety of peoples.[37] An interesting model that has emerged is Mattingly's model of 'discrepant identities' which builds upon Edward Said's idea that discrepant experiences are prevalent in every culture, entangled in the imperialism of empires. Said wrote, 'We must be able to think through and interpret together experiences that are discrepant, each with its particular agenda and pace of development, its own internal factions, its internal coherence and systems of external relationships, all of them co-existing and interacting with others.'[38] The notion of discrepant identities is suggested as a blank canvas for exploring the wide range of social identities in the ancient world without giving prominence to one over another. As a model it allows space for the identities and experiences of the elite to be explored alongside those of the sub elite.[39] Mattingly's approach very much emphasises a shift in focus; although his studies maintain the discussion of the successes of the Roman Empire, they also centralise cases which reveal the violence suffered at the hands of the Romans, the suppression or marginalisation of communities, the exploitation of provincial landscapes and the reactionary resistance to Roman rule. His work does not favour the plight of the 'enemies' of Rome, but is inclusive of the losses felt by Rome too.[40] Far from romanticising Roman conquest, his studies scrutinise the motivations for conquest and also place great importance on the theme

[37] Hölscher (2008), 52; Mattingly (2010), 283. Cf. Schörner, H. (2005); Pitts (2007); Dench (2010); and Roller (2010).
[38] Said (1994), 36.
[39] Mattingly (2011), 29.
[40] Mattingly (2011), 23-5.

of power. The study *An Imperial Possession. Britain in the Roman Empire, 54 BC – AD 409* is a work in which one can see the successes and shortcomings of the model of discrepant identities. The idea of discrepant economies of the Roman world - imperial, provincial and extra provincial - is effective in his arguments and calls into question who really benefitted from these landscapes of opportunities.[41] His focus on the 'rape' of provincial landscapes by Roman governments, in particular provinces abundant with mineral wealth is extreme, but also could be considered realistic.[42] Mattingly challenges the pre-conceptions of the 'natives' under Roman rule and reviews the previous histories of the period, throwing scepticism on previous narratives of ancient Britain which have favoured the conqueror over the conquered, and which gave particular emphasis to the excavated sites where the local elite enjoyed success under Roman rule.[43] The message of his study is simple: 'for every winner under Roman rule, there were a hundred losers, with the gap between the richest and poorest in society widening as never before.'[44] While Mattingly's studies of Roman Britain aim to provide an alternative model for studying cultural change and experience in the Roman provinces, his approach may seem provocative to some as it upsets many long established interpretations of provincial experience in the Roman Empire. In reality, the model of discrepant identities is not applicable to other provinces. The very meaning of 'discrepant' is confrontational and is immediately loaded with negative implications. Michael Fulford highlights that 'the adjective 'discrepant' is derived from the Latin *discrepare*, to be discordant, so giving its primary meaning as 'exhibiting difference, dissimilarity, or lack of agreement; discordant, inconsistent'. He asks, 'why not use words like 'different' and

[41] Mattingly (2011), 491-528. Part three of this book focuses on the exploitation of resources in the Roman Empire.
[42] Mattingly (2011), 274.
[43] Mattingly (2006), 4-5, 266-7 and 454. Repeated in Mattingly (2011), chapter one, see also page 21, figure 1.5. Cf. Goff (2005), 1-24 for discussion about Britain's relationship with its Roman heritage.
[44] Mattingly (2006), 20.

'difference'...?'[45] Günther Schörner also highlights that Mattingly's insistence on investigating the plight of the sub-elite ignores the fundamental role in provincial life that the local elites played.[46] While Mattingly's insistence that a shift in focus from centre to periphery in Roman studies is constructive, it is difficult to fully embrace the idea that we should now view experiences of empire as solely 'discrepant'.

Martin Pitts' article 'The Utility of Identity in Roman Archaeology' analyses the rise of 'identity' as a popular methodological tool in Roman studies.[47] Pitts acknowledges that mapping the concept of 'identity' onto the ancient world is problematic because of the ambiguous nature of its definition and so his opinions of 'identity' as a methodological tool are not final. For Pitts, studying it is useful in that it implicitly rejects the notion of Romanisation as a passive and blanket phenomenon since 'identity' can be considered a separate theme and subject matter in its own right.[48] However, he concludes that as a research topic it is still in its infancy and he offers the following caveat: 'It is important that identity be used as a perspective for understanding and explaining change through a consideration of the role of material culture in social practice and not simply be used as an end in itself.'[49] This 'end' is the search for, and explanation of, 'variety' in the ancient Roman world. If used uncritically as a concept there is a danger of identity studies simply being descriptive searches for social groups.[50] There is great truth in his concern that there is a danger in replacing the word 'Romanisation' with 'identity' without any real shift in analytical mindset.[51]

[45] Fulford (2007), 368.
[46] Schörner, G. (2005), vii.
[47] Pitts (2007).
[48] Pitts (2007), 695.
[49] Pitts (2007), 710.
[50] Pitts (2007), 709-10.
[51] Pitts (2007), 694.

Tonio Hölscher is very critical of the concept of identity as a research tool and expresses his dissatisfaction of its usage rather than its potential to further unlock the past.[52] While admitting that one cannot deny the importance of identity as a concept, Hölscher reminds us that it is a loaded term that is 'anything but innocent'.[53] Most importantly, as a term it implies a strong emphasis on self-centeredness and introspection that is impossible to analyse when considering the motivations of individuals and groups in ancient society.[54] Furthermore, and more importantly, identity is different from character as it transcends what may be 'good' or 'bad' about a person.[55] Hölscher candidly asks, do we really need the concept of identity to study the ancient world?[56] For Hölscher, there are two alternatives to the search for identity for the historian to pursue. First is the critical examination of 'roles' in ancient society. The study of 'roles' is less burdened by anachronistic assumptions and allows the historian to speak of concrete public and private roles and qualities, merits and deficiencies in social communication.[57] This proposal for the utility of roles could potentially offer the historian a far more tangible research tool for investigating patterns of social interactions and change than the ambiguity of identity allows. Furthermore, the call to avoid restricting studies of social and cultural interactions to a search for identity for Hölscher, escapes 'an extremely narrow bottleneck for historical experience, excluding all phenomena that are foreign to this identity'. Alternatively, the exploration of 'interested experience' in the ancient world is suggested as preferable.[58] This idea implies the study of ancient culture that encompasses the involvement of all aspects of society, individually and collectively, rather than marking sub-groups of a community into categories that include and exclude those that may or may not 'fit

[52] Hölscher (2008).
[53] Hölscher (2011), 47.
[54] Hölscher (2008), 53; (2011), 47.
[55] Hölscher (2008), 53.
[56] Hölscher (2008), 52.
[57] Hölscher (2008), 54.
[58] Hölscher (2011), 60.

in'. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the study of ancient identities does allow for a wide exploration of political, social and cultural changes and interactions in ancient society by considering things like the age, gender, and religion of communities and individuals. While it is useful to identify groups in society of a certain age, gender, or religion, coupling this line of enquiry with analysis of the experiences of individual and collective groups is fundamental. For instance, the individuals identified by their age, gender and religion would also have interacted socially and politically with individuals belonging to other groups in a variety of situations, thus allowing a consideration of the whole of ancient society rather than of select groups and individuals.

The role and agency of material culture.

A serious re-evaluation of the role and agency of material artefacts has also been inspired by postcolonial studies. Perceptions of the past have been re-invigorated by culture-based approaches to ancient culture and society which have explored material culture from the perspective of the conquered or colonised as a response to the 'power' of the conqueror or coloniser.[59] By exploring the themes of ‘power’ and ‘identity’ through material artefacts important questions have been raised: How do we approach material culture and evaluate the cultural, political, and social changes that occurred and affected on the peoples incorporated into the Roman Empire? What are the markers of change or continuity that we should be looking out for? What terms do we use to describe the changes, or continuity, that took place? What is distinctive about material culture, as opposed to ancient literary texts, as a tool for investigating 'experience', 'identity', 'culture'? Is it the case that the material reality of culture

[59] Knapp (2008), 32; Hales and Hodos eds. (2010), 4; Hicks and Beaudry eds. (2010) has highlighted the key developments and concepts that have developed in research taking place in the humanities and the social sciences. Many articles catalogue the history of studying buildings as material culture, Cf. Lounsbury (2010); Fowler (2010); and Harris (2010).

is constantly being negotiated? If so, why study cultural change as a specific phenomenon and can such change simply be meaningless if material culture is constantly re-negotiated?[60]

Most recently, Wallace-Hadrill's *Rome's Cultural Revolution* takes us to the very heart of these questions as he demonstrates how material culture does not mean a simple expression of culture, identity, or identities. Drawing on the example of studying grave goods as a statement of identity, he asks that we no longer use simple dichotomies of one symbol versus another to assume the identity of the deceased. For example, he cites the well-known equation of a brooch equals Celt pitted against a strigil equals Roman.[61] Instead, Wallace-Hadrill highlights how we should account for cultural choices in the reception of material artefacts and the way in which they are used, asking to what we should attribute these choices.[62] Furthermore, there are different markers of culture which cannot all be assumed to reflect harmonious and consistent expressions of a single/absolute 'cultural identity'.[63] With this comes the acknowledgement also that cultural goods are appropriated with ease and frequency into different contexts and can be endowed in their new contexts with 'local meaning'.[64] For Wallace-Hadrill, however, a linguistic approach is preferable and revealing of identities and cultural choices.[65] Ultimately, regardless of approach taken by any scholar, Wallace-Hadrill's opinion that expressions of multilingualism in expressing identity did not necessarily mean a loss of identity in antiquity is important for taking forward studies into provincial experiences and identities even further.[66]

Various chapters within Mary Beaudry and Dan Hicks' *Oxford Handbook of Material Culture* also touch on many important themes concerning interpreting material culture. Chris

[60] Carstens (2006), 121.
[61] Wallace-Hadrill (2008), 73-4 and 77.
[62] Wallace-Hadrill (2008), 101.
[63] Wallace-Hadrill (2008), 97.
[64] Wallace-Hadrill (2008), 97.
[65] Wallace-Hadrill (2008), 96-103.
[66] Wallace-Hadrill (2008), 78.

Fowler's chapter, 'From Identity and Material Culture to Personhood and Materiality', presents the history of the concept of 'personhood' and its development as a tool for studying identity. Studying personhood, he writes, 'takes us to the heart of how material things and cultural activities are given value alongside human lives.'[67] While he argues that material culture does not simply equate to a reflection of cultural identity, Fowler suggests that there are observable patterns in the distribution of specific kinds of material culture.[68] For Fowler, 'identities are produced out of the ongoing interactions between people and things, not just different groups of people.'[69] The realisation that notions of 'culture' and 'identity' are fluid and situational has resulted in more sophisticated discussion emerging across many disciplines, in particular archaeology.[70] An interesting point is raised by Fowler's exploration of personhood, and how the negotiation of material culture should include natural phenomena.[71] Different cultures appreciate the different properties and qualities of substances in distinctive ways, often attaching importance and symbolic meaning to them.[72] The multifaceted nature of the meanings attached to material artefacts and symbols by social groups or individuals cannot be underestimated either. Fowler suggests that a direction for future studies into personhood is the sphere of social difference, in particular in terms of power relations and societies which possessed strict hierarchies or have a highly developed egalitarian structure. The exploration of the emergence of individuals or new types of persons in these power relations is fundamental, in particular in the expression of a new identity or of social relations.[73] This is of particular relevance to the study of the Roman provinces,

[67] Fowler (2010), 354.
[68] Fowler (2010), 355.
[69] Fowler (2010), 359. The increase in scholarship which focuses on how material culture is used in negotiating identities is further elaborated by Fowler (2010), 362.
[70] Fowler (2010), 362-3.
[71] Fowler (2010), 375.
[72] Fowler (2010), 376.
[73] Fowler (2010), 385.

especially as Rome was a hierarchical society but unique with opportunities for social mobility.

In sum, the study of ancient cultures and their societies in general has undergone major changes in recent decades. Scholars from all fields of ancient history and classical studies are more aware of the impact, positive and negative, of directly using and adapting theoretical models and approaches from other humanities subjects in their pursuit of furthering explorations of the ancient world. It remains for this study to consider the trends and approaches that have emerged as popular in the study of ancient Cyprus, which have shaped the present face of ancient Cypriot studies in general, before presenting the scope of this investigation in more detail.

Research context: Prehistoric to Roman Cyprus.

It is no exaggeration to say that the prehistory of Cyprus has captivated the minds of scholars above all other periods of the island's history.[74] There has been no such comparable archaeological investigations or written material published about the Archaic, Hellenistic or Roman periods. The quality and accessibility of surviving evidence to study these epochs have been dramatically affected by natural disasters over time, particularly earthquakes, looting by amateur archaeologists, and modern day constructions of cities over ancient sites. Furthermore, military conflicts and political discord of the last century continue to affect the investigation and preservation of ancient sites on the island today. Allan Langdale's book *In A Contested Realm. An Illustrated Guide to the Archaeology and Historical Architecture of Northern Cyprus* is a publication which highlights fairly these difficulties and addresses the

[74] Reyes (1994), 6-7.

urgency for some resolution to protect the cultural heritage of the North of the island.[75] Many archaeological sites in Northern Cyprus have been left unexcavated since the last major conflict in 1974; many of them have had to be abandoned by the teams of archaeologists who began investigating and reconstructing their landscapes. While some archaeological and preservation work is attempted in Northern Cyprus, it is done so with great difficulty. Limited financial resources for carrying out such work, lack of international recognition and permission to excavate are all major factors.[76] Furthermore, and understandably so, many sites remain unexcavated for diplomatic reasons and out of courtesy and in acknowledgement of archaeology begun by scholars prior to the division of the island who have not been able to return to their projects. It is then with great effort that scholars try to piece together certain important aspects of Cyprus' history, in particular its Roman period, as many significant settlements, rich with archaeological artefacts, are situated on the North of the island. While the tragedies of war and complexities of current politics have significantly impeded archaeological investigations in Northern Cyprus, thus creating an unbalanced situation wherein academic advances and understanding of the history of Southern Cyprus surpasses that of the North, other factors have affected current interest and understanding of Cyprus' Roman period. I believe that analysis of Cyprus as a Roman province, its peoples and its landscapes has been more seriously hindered by the characterisation of the island by early scholars of Roman Cyprus.

[75] Langdale (2012).

[76] Langdale (2012), 1-4. The latter issue is compounded by current political and national ideologies surrounding the issue of cultural heritage and claims of cultural ownership. Often the blame is apportioned solely to the conflict of 1974. However, other factors are also increasingly being understood as responsible for the loss and damage of archaeological artefacts and site.

Roman Cyprus: the historically 'uneventful' and 'obscure' Roman province.

Victor Chapot's 1912 article, 'Les romains et Chypre', was one of the first substantial studies to present the history and culture of Roman Cyprus. At the time of writing, Chapot acknowledged that the task of creating a detailed monograph on Roman Cyprus would be challenging because of the then limited material evidence available.[77] Therefore, it would be impossible to understand fully the impact of Rome. To address the shortcomings of the known evidence, Chapot grouped together previous studies on Roman Cyprus and presented his reader with a critical history of the island. Chapot presented a systematic overview of the Roman province, beginning with events prior to the annexation of Cyprus by Rome in 58 BC. He drew his observations and analyses mostly from literary sources and where possible epigraphic evidence. As a result of the close attention that Chapot paid to the literary sources, much consideration was given to the events leading up to the annexation. Thus the stock themes of Cyprus' Roman history were established: the role of Publius Clodius Pulcher; the annexation of Cyprus and the role of Cato; Cicero as governor of Cilicia and his involvement with the Salaminians; the financial abuse of the Salaminians by Brutus' agents; government after Cicero; Ptolemaic restoration; the consolidation of power by Augustus. Following this, Chapot presented brief summaries of the use of the calendar in Roman Cyprus, the worship of the emperor, numismatics, and the Roman cities and their surviving architecture. Chapot's overall summary of Roman Cyprus is interesting but contradictory. He recognised that Cyprus was strategically and economically important to Rome and emphasised the exploitation of the island, but did not consider any possible response of the inhabitants of the island to their new rulers. Although Chapot provided his reader with a series of dramatic events, including earthquakes, invasions, and several uprisings, which all imply tension,

[77] Chapot (1912), 59.

conflict and resistance to Rome, he concluded that the island was historically obscure and of extreme simplicity.[78]

Sir George Hill's *A History of Cyprus. Volume 1 To the Conquest by Richard the Lion Heart* was another influential study of Cyprus.[79] While his chapter on Roman Cyprus has been previously described as an 'acute analysis of the textual and archaeological evidence known to him', his treatment of the Roman period is heavily reliant on Chapot as well as on other, briefer summaries of Roman Cyprus.[80] Following Chapot's article, Hill's presentation of the Roman period in many ways set the trend for later studies.[81] Like Chapot, Hill acknowledged and listed the major episodes in the island's early history under Rome, such as the annexation of the island and the scandalous taxation of the Salaminians as recounted by Cicero, which highlight the violence and injustice of the Roman Empire towards its subject peoples. Nevertheless, Hill presented Cyprus as a province that was 'comparatively happy, being without history, under Roman government', and he discredited any previous claim that Cyprus, or its peoples, were ill treated under the Romans.[82] Furthermore, Hill's description of Roman Cyprus as 'being without history' also appears contradictory given that he included in his overview of the Roman period the journey of the apostle Paul and St. Barnabas across Cyprus in AD 45 and the conversion of a Roman governor to Christianity; the Jewish uprising of AD 115-7; the Gothic invasion of AD 269; and the uprising of Licinius, the rival of Constantine, in AD 324; and the uprising of Calocaerus in the fourth century AD.[83] All of these episodes in fact suggest that Roman Cyprus was not without history as many of these

[78] Chapot (1912), 76.
[79] Hill (1940).
[80] Hill (1940), 226, cf. footnote 1. Other important studies of Cyprus which predate Hill not mentioned in this footnote include: Engel (1841); Cesnola (1877); (1884); Hogarth (1889); Myres (1914); Casson (1937). Cf. Reyes (1994), 2.
[81] Hill (1940), 226-56.
[82] Hill (1940), 244 and footnote 3. However, Hill did hang particular weight to the affair of Scaptius and the Salaminians as 'a fitting pendant to the story of the taking of Cyprus by the Romans': cf. Hill (1940), 230.
[83] Hill (1940), 247, modelled on Chapot (1912), 76.

events aligned the island with empire-wide concerns. Nevertheless, for Hill, Cyprus was a weary province with an inactive and insignificant history under the Romans. He wrote that there was a lack of rivalry between the cities and absence of 'national' identity (or even sentiment) as a result of years of being worn down and yielding to 'rulers not of their own race'.[84] This lack of internal dynamism and agency in shaping the culture and society of Roman Cyprus by its inhabitants was suggested by Hill because he believed that, 'Cyprus, unlike many of the regions that were to become provinces of the Roman Empire, had hardly ever known anything like a democratic constitution; the people of the cities had almost without exception been the subjects of kings, and those kings ruled over single cities, not over a country including many cities in which individuality might have had a chance of development.'[85] Hill was right to emphasise the subjugation of Cyprus to foreign rulers in antiquity, but his conclusions about the effect that this had on the peoples of Cyprus, their material culture, and their response to Roman rule underestimated the inhabitants of the island and the possibility that they were able to shape their own culture and society. Hill's study, although shaped by ideas and vocabulary that would now be considered anachronistic, was important for disseminating the scholarship of previous accounts which were not written in English.

The next overview of Roman Cyprus appeared in the Swedish Cyprus Expedition's (hereafter named the *SCE*) canonical series on the archaeological investigations that they carried out on Cyprus between 1927 and 1931/2.[86] The *SCE*'s summary of the Roman period did not offer any new analysis of the period and borrowed heavily from previous studies. Gustav Olof Vessberg's study of Roman Cyprus was more inclusive of material artefacts but

[84] Hill (1940), 239.
[85] Hill (1940), 239.
[86] Vessberg (1956), 237-47.

also recognised that archaeological investigations, at the time of his article, were incomplete and failed to present a clear picture of the island's civilisation during the Roman period.[87] Analysis of the known glassware and pottery led Vessberg to highlight the significance of imported Italian *sigillata* and also of Syrian and Phoenician influences on the island during this period.[88] While Vessberg repeated the same historical dramas as Chapot and Hill, he continued to present a rosy picture of Cyprus' inclusion in the Roman Empire stating that Cyprus was 'politically calm' and 'uneventful' up until the Jewish revolt under Trajan's reign.[89] The few accounts of Cyprus' Roman period which allude to the real force and violence of some aspects of early Roman rule are embedded in the introduction to some general history books and are not fully investigated by the principal accounts of the Roman period.[90]

The most extensive studies of Cyprus' Roman period undertaken by any scholar, have been those of the epigrapher Terence Bruce Mitford. His articles and books were published from the 1930s, with his final articles published posthumously in 1980 and 1990.[91] While Mitford published extensively and made known many newly discovered inscriptions from the Hellenistic and Roman periods of Cyprus' history, responses to his contribution to scholarship have been mixed. In 1952 Mitford proposed to compile a multi-volumed corpus of inscriptions from Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine Cyprus.[92] Plans for

[87] Vessberg (1956), 242.
[88] Vessberg (1956), 243.
[89] Vessberg (1956), 237-47.
[90] For example, cf. Gunnis (1936), 11-2, this account of the Roman period of the island is embedded within a guide book of the period, not in a major scholarly publication widely circulated.
[91] Mitford (1937); (1938-9); (1939a, b); (1946); (1947); (1950a, b); (1953); (1958); (1959); (1960); (1961a, b); (1966); (1980a, b) and (1990). A full list of his publications can be found in Masson (1979), 4-6. Karageorghis (2007), 55-6 hinted that much of Mitford's work awaits publication by colleagues who inherited the material.
[92] Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1973a), 99: Mitford himself outlined his programme for a corpus to the Second International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy, in 1952, where he talked of his plans for a multi-volume publication to cover the inscriptions of the Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine periods for the island. For a history of epigraphers on Cyprus see Summa (2013).

this project never saw fruition and the majority of his major contributions to Cypriot epigraphy are to be found in articles. Mitford published two books which catalogued the inscriptions Kourion and Salamis.[93] Reviews of Mitford's 1971 book *The Inscriptions of Kourion* illustrate the varied responses to his style and approach.[94] Mitford wrote that the research and analysis of the inscriptions for this corpus were done in 1961 and that few changes had been made to the book between that time and its publication in 1971. Therefore, the reader was presented with a corpus of inscriptions that was ten years out of date when it was eventually published.[95] While Robert Bagnall and Thomas Drew-Bear wrote a scathing review of *The Inscriptions of Kourion*, Joyce Reynolds gently responded that Mitford had been over adventurous in his restorations.[96] On the other hand Donald Bradeen wrote that the work represented 'a virtuoso performance by the author' and that it was 'a model of editing' because of the scale of the material presented.[97] Ino Nicolaou's review of the book was also complimentary stating that it was 'unique' and would be 'warmly received' by any student of Cyprus' history.[98]

Although Mitford published material which focussed on the Archaic to Byzantine periods, some of his major and final works were his articles which presented an overall summary of the history of Roman Cyprus. His articles 'Roman Cyprus' and 'The Incidence of Roman *Civitas* in Salamis', both published in 1980, and 'The Cults of Roman Cyprus', published in 1990, presented the first significant overviews of themes such as the Roman cities, the role of women, religious practices, the worship of the emperor, and death and burial, all of which used epigraphic evidence as the main primary source of analysis. As we

[93] *I.Kourion*; *I.Salamis.*
[94] Bradeen (1972); Drew-Bear (1972); Nicolaou (1972); Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1973a, b); Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1974); Reynolds (1978).
[95] *I.Kourion*, vii, footnote 1; Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1973a), 99-100; Reynolds (1978), 381.
[96] Reynolds (1978).
[97] Bradeen (1972), 168.
[98] Nicolaou (1972), 332.

will see later, many of these themes have been revisited and reassessed, while others are yet to be investigated further. Like his predecessors, Mitford considered the history of Roman Cyprus, following the settlement of the Mediterranean from 30 BC onwards, as assuming 'a uniformity, almost an anonymity'.[99] Mitford summarised that in general the island maintained 'a distinctive Cypriot quality' throughout its history, despite being subject to outside influences as a result of its location.[100] What this Cypriot quality was, and is, was not elucidated. Nevertheless, he explained his analysis of the cultural changes that took place under Rome, clearly visible in the epigraphic record, by using, not so much the model of Romanisation, but its vocabulary.[101]

Since Terence Bruce Mitford.

In recent decades, many studies have re-visited the topics presented in Mitford's 'Roman Cyprus', particularly the epigraphic evidence that he originally published.[102] While the traditional vocabulary of Romanisation is present in some more recent studies;[103] the use of the original meaning of the theory in other studies is startling. For example, in Demetrios Michaelides' summary of Roman Cyprus he wrote that Rome had little intention of 'Romanising' Cyprus.[104] Not only does this interpretation reflect a complete lack of engagement with the debate surrounding the use of Romanisation as a theoretical framework, which was lively at the time of Michaelides' publication, it also completely misrepresents Rome's interactions with the island and its people.

[99] Mitford (1980a), 1290.
[100] Mitford (1980a), 1288.
[101] Mitford (1980a), 1290. For instance, Mitford (1980a), 1319-20, 1342, 1346, 1348, 1356-7, 1365, 1368, and 1373.
[102] For example, Watkin (1988); Michaelides (1990); Potter (2000); Cayla (2004); Parks (2004); Cayla (2006); Kantiréa (2007a and b), (2008), (2010), and (2011); Wilburn (2012), Fujii (2013).
[103] Raptou (2007), 126; Kantiréa (2008), 92; Connelly (2010), 179; Kantiréa (2011), 243, 256.
[104] Michaelides (1990), 119.

Most recently, Takashi Fujii's study *Imperial Cult, Imperial Representation in Roman Cyprus* fully investigates the worship of the emperor on the island. Although his study focuses more on the reading of inscriptions, Fujii clearly illustrates the usefulness of Cyprus as a case study for investigating the worship of the Roman emperor and challenges any notion of homogeneity, highlighting differences between practices that shaped the worship of the Roman emperor and thus the relationship between provincials and Rome in the different localities of Cyprus. Fujii wisely does not engage with the debates surrounding the use of Romanisation as a theoretical model, but does conclude that as a model it does not adequately explain the phenomenon of the worship of the Roman emperor in Cyprus.[105] For Fujii, the evidence from Cyprus clearly shows a localisation of imperial power on the periphery of the Empire, something that evolved and was shaped by the local inhabitants of the island and was not imposed by Rome. Despite this, he does not suggest an alternative for explaining this phenomenon.

Mitford was not the only scholar to publish epigraphic corpora of cities of Cyprus. This continued endeavour by individual scholars and research institutions is a testament to the importance of epigraphy for further unlocking the history, culture, and society of the island in comparison with other surviving evidence. Literary evidence from antiquity relating to Cyprus is minimal, often embedded in texts dealing with other themes, and all examples are written by non-Cypriots.[106] Therefore, justifying an investigation of Roman Cyprus' culture and society through its material culture is not difficult. The literary record alone does not provide enough information for considering the themes of 'identity', 'experience', 'power', and 'culture'. To date, in addition to the publications of Mitford mentioned above, publications which collate inscriptions from the cities of Archaic, Hellenistic, and Roman

[105] Fujii (2013), 11-4, 159.
[106] Mitford (1980a), 1297; Michaelides (1990), 110.

Cyprus include *Salamine de Chypre XIII: Testimonia Salaminia 2, Corpus Épigraphique,* (hereafter named *Salamine de Chypre* XIII); *The Inscriptions of Kition* (hereafter named *I.Kition*); 'Inscriptions d'Amathonte' published in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*;[107] *Les inscriptions de Paphos* (hereafter named *I.Paphos*) the doctoral thesis of Jean-Baptiste Cayla. A complete corpus of inscriptions from the whole of the island is an ongoing project of the *Inscriptiones Graecae*.[108]

The impact of general studies of Cyprus' history on interest in Roman Cyprus.

Roman Cyprus is also traditionally considered as the island's least interesting period of history and the misconceptions of scholars working on other periods of Cypriot history have continued to disseminate this opinion. Popular, general studies of the culture and society of Cyprus have repeatedly spoken of Roman Cyprus as a submissive, culturally bland and homogeneous provincial backwater. Vassos Karageorghis' various contributions to the study of the Hellenistic and Roman periods confirm this. According to Karageorghis, from the Hellenistic period onwards, 'It [Cyprus] lost the spontaneity of its culture, which now became a provincial offshoot of the homogenous Hellenistic period'.[109] He also suggested that 'during the Hellenistic and Roman Periods Cyprus was merely an element in a larger empire, with no distinctive character of its own.'[110] These are not statements that can easily by dismissed when written by the former Director of Antiquities of Cyprus and an esteemed scholar who has driven forward Cypriot archaeology.[111] Although primarily interested in the Bronze Age, Karageorghis has written extensively on all aspects of Cyprus' history. In the past he has

[107] Cf. This study, chapter four, section **4.4.1**.
[108] Summa (2013).
[109] Karageorghis (1970), 199.
[110] Karageorghis (1970), 225. A sentiment previously expressed by Myres (1914), xlii; Casson (1937), 16; Brown and Catling (1975), 70.
[111] Cf. Karageorghis (2007).

acknowledged the influence and mixtures of traditions and cultures in ancient Cyprus; he strongly promotes the idea that Cyprus' culture was strengthened by the arrival of the Greeks, seeing the result as a perfect fusion of culture.[112] Basing his analysis of Cypriot culture solely on its artistic developments, his arguments are at times one-dimensional. For example, he suggests that the unsettled conditions on the island and the preoccupation of the Cypriot kings with military matters did not favour the development of the arts. The result was that, in general, Cypriot art lost the originality it had shown in the Archaic period and awkwardly followed the styles of Greek art. Therefore the archaeology and history of the island shows that as Cyprus entered the sphere of Greek culture, through the Hellenistic and Roman periods, the island shared the same characteristics as the rest of the Greek world.[113]

Karageorghis has also argued that the history of the Hellenistic and Roman periods needs to be re-written. This is not because of the diverse scholarly thinking which has been reactionary to trends in scholarship, trends which have seen the re-evaluation of traditional analytical and methodological approaches, such as Romanisation. His call is a reflection of the practicality of conducting archaeological research on the island.[114]

Traditionally, major studies which focus on the general history of Cyprus in antiquity offer minimal discussion of the Roman period, or worse, stop their often useful investigations into major themes such as the religion, art or society of Cyprus short of the period.[115] A most

[112] Karageorghis (1970), 66-9.
[113] Karageorghis (1970), 68. Cf. Karageorghis (1968a), 199 on the homogeneity of the Hellenistic civilisation of Cyprus.
[114] Karageorghis (1998), 69.
[115] Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter (1899) omit the Roman period in their introduction as the catalogue stops at the Hellenistic period. Casson (1937); Karageorghis, Matthäus, and Rogge eds. (2005); Karageorghis (2006) does not feature the Roman period in its general survey. Karageorghis (1968a) has very little to say as do (1981), 178-92 and (1982), 177-89; Brown and Catling (1975), 63-70 offer a small and extremely brief discussion of the Hellenistic and Roman periods in their book. Out of the four *SCE* volumes, in several parts only one (and the smallest) is dedicated to the Hellenistic and Roman periods, whereas the remaining tomes are dominated by the remains from the Cypriot Bronze Ages, again testimony to the scanty archaeological remains of the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

recent testimony to this can be found in the pioneering investigation into gender studies in Cyprus from all ages. Diane Bolger and Nancy Serwint's *Engendering Aphrodite. Women and Society in Ancient Cyprus* is an important volume of conference papers which, for the first time, focussed primarily on the roles, identities, and experiences of women from ancient Cyprus, from its earliest history to the Medieval period. While five of the twenty six papers touched upon material from Roman Cyprus, none of the papers discussed women of Roman Cyprus. One focussed on the representations of Black women in Roman art and the remainder considered the identity and representation of Aphrodite during the Roman, and other, periods.[116] While one may argue that the literary and material evidence for the role of women in Roman Cypriot society is limited compared with other period of the island's history, it seems as if the significance of women from the Roman period has been entirely overlooked. There is evidence in the form of funerary monuments, honorific public monuments, and also curse tablets which are revealing of women's power, status, and identity in Roman Cyprus. The available evidence reveals the activities of powerful women as owners of property and slaves, as well as high priestesses and patrons of the arts.

Similarly, Bernard Knapp's *Prehistoric and Protohistoric Cyprus* (2008) is revealing of the gulf between scholarship dealing with the different periods of Cypriot history as it deals with the current trends that have influenced our understanding of antiquity in general. In promoting the importance of considering Cyprus as an island with a particular identity, Knapp hits many key notes regarding the themes of insularity, connectivity, Mediterranean culture, local and global cultures which have been further developed and realised in major collaborative works most recently.[117] The discussion of the bi-directional connectivity of the

[116] Gilby (2002); Budin (2002); Serwint (2002); Michaelides (2002); MacLachlan (2002).
[117] Knapp (2008), 2, cf. also 13-4, 18, 28 and 378. Gruen ed. (2011); Knapp and van Dommelen (2010); Whitmarsh ed. (2010a).

island and its networks is on the pulse of a recent wave of investigations into network theories, which is a popular approach to considering the complexity of studying identity in the Mediterranean.[118] Furthermore, study of material connectivity in the Mediterranean is a key underlying component in discussion surrounding migration. Hybrid practices are now perceived as being more prevalent in ancient societies than previously thought.[119] While previous studies on the Neolithic ages of Cyprus have focused on the impact of external factors, Knapp stresses the importance of internal factors and gives a surprising level of autonomy and consciousness to the islanders in shaping their identities through the production, use, and dissemination of their material culture.[120] For Knapp, identity is a process of becoming, not being, and island identity in particular is always going to be fluid and situational.[121] The strong message of this study is that the material record should be considered alongside individuals and their personal histories, and there is particular emphasis on the variability of the relationship between the material record and the individuals using the material culture in question.[122] These are all fundamental when considering the collective and individual identities of Cyprus at any period. Although Knapp does not specifically deal with the material record from the Roman period; he states that although Cypriots welcomed the Roman regime, they 'no longer made any obvious attempt to mark their identify [sic] through local cultural icons or symbols.'[123] This is a disappointing admission that immediately pushes aside the importance of this period for studying cultural change and identity and assumes the passivity of the inhabitants of Cyprus, particularly after his insistence that archaeological studies should now turn to theories promoting diversity, variability, and hybridity to reflect

[118] Cf. Malkin, Constantakopoulou, Panagopoulou eds. (2009); Malkin (2011).
[119] For example, Connelly (2009); Knapp and van Dommelen (2010), 1.
[120] Knapp (2008), 1, 3, 17.
[121] Knapp (2008), 28 and 32. Cf. Knapp and van Dommelen (2010), 4.
[122] Knapp (2008), 34 and 55.
[123] Knapp (2008), 30.

the fluid and situational process of 'becoming' an individual.[124] Furthermore, a statement such as this is defeatist and conforms to the assumption that Knapp himself criticises about preconceptions of islands being considered as 'romantic' backwaters of history.[125]

What this overview demonstrates is that studies into Cyprus' earliest histories up until its Hellenistic period are mindful of key methodological and theoretical approaches that are popular, timely, and relevant. Clearly no such attempt has been made with Cyprus' Roman period. One could argue that a reason for the endurance of outmoded and unchallenged theoretical tools for studying the Roman period is that Cyprus is not a popular case study for the study of Roman provinces because of the misconception that it was an uneventful provincial backwater.

Re-evaluating Roman Cyprus.

While traditional studies can be forgiven for explaining the culture and society of Roman Cyprus by using 'Romanisation' as a theoretical approach, it is evident that the term 'Romanisation' no longer implies the native barbarian dichotomy when used. Nevertheless, it could be considered a serious oversight of more recent studies that the theory of the Romanisation model has not been more rigorously challenged, or at least justified in the light of scholarly developments in Roman studies. Cyprus could be considered an 'unusual' province as no colonies were founded there by the Romans, nor were any existing towns given colonial status; the island did not receive benefits nor was it awarded any special status by Rome, but it was taxed.[126] The inhabitants of Cyprus did not engage in aggressive military action to defend the island from being controlled by Rome, nor is its Roman period

[124] Knapp (2008), 2 and 54.
[125] Knapp (2008), 13. Cf. Leonard (1995), 227, 242: his study in general flags up the common misconception of scholars that Roman Cyprus was a quiet backwater of the Roman Empire.
[126] Mitford (1980a), 1296.

characterised by internal turmoil because of the Roman government of the island, in contrast to other provincial case studies.[127] These very facts suggest that a heavy handed theoretical framework inspired from postcolonial studies is not appropriate for this study. Even so, postcolonial studies have influenced this investigation in its aim to focus on Cypriot reactions to Rome by investigating the experiences of the local elite, individually and collectively in the roles that they played in the organisation of the wider community, and where possible the experiences of the sub-elite.

This study's focus on 'power' and 'identity' as themes is also reflective of post colonial and sociological influences. An investigation of 'power' is necessary as part of any study of local reaction to and experience of Rome as an imperial power. As Harris explains, Rome and power are 'inextricably' linked.[128] Therefore, the exploration of power in this study is not limited to the power of Rome and its impact on Roman Cyprus, but will also consider the negotiation of power between Cypriots and Rome as well as Cypriot elites with each other.

'Insiders' and 'Outsiders'.

Also central to this investigation of Cyprus' cultural identity under Rome is an examination of local knowledge and local identity. It has only been in recent years that the concept of local identity has emerged as a topic in its own right as a way of investigating provincial cultural identity rather than 'local identity' simply existing as a by-product of traditional studies.[129] In his article ‘What is local identity? The politics of cultural mapping’, Simon Goldhill explores the rhetoric surrounding this concept. The idea of ‘insiders’ and ‘outsiders’ is a key component in his methodology for approaching the study of local identity

[127] Cf. Webster (2001) and Mattingly (2006).
[128] Harris (2010), 564.
[129] Cf. Whitmarsh ed. (2010a).

in the Imperial Greek world.[130] Goldhill proposes that anything that is described as 'local' must be analysed by questioning four main aspects of its nature. The first is established by the question: 'Who speaks?...are the speakers insiders or outsiders?'[131] For Goldhill there are two facets to this question: one is less often discussed, namely whether any self-recognition of local identity is expressed by the speaker, and the other is simpler and asks 'how does the author represent himself in terms of social position?'.[132] The second hinges on a consideration of boundaries and border controls. Goldhill writes, 'if local identity presupposes a defining and excluded other – call it panhellenic identity, or national identity or cosmopolitan identity – then the process of defining and maintaining the boundaries becomes a central dynamic in the performance of identity.'[133] Furthermore, 'when we look for local identity we have to consider against what identity the localness is being defined.'[134] The third relates to the 'knowingness' of the speaker; the 'declaration of local knowledge by definition constructs insiders and outsiders, and the one category that is crucial here, although often ignored'.[135] The fourth is a realisation that the assertion of local identity is a 'performative utterance'.[136] Using this model, Goldhill demonstrates how ancient authors manipulated the presentation of local knowledge to argue for a case of local identity.[137] For Goldhill, Pausanias is one such author who manipulated the trope of the local as part of his rhetoric of cultural identity.

Using Goldhill's framework, this investigation will apply the construction of 'insiders' and 'outsiders' to assess the themes of power, experience, and identity in Roman Cyprus. The

[130] Goldhill (2010).
[131] Goldhill (2010), 46.
[132] Goldhill (2010), 47.
[133] Goldhill (2010), 47-8.
[134] Goldhill (2010), 49.
[135] Goldhill (2010), 49.
[136] Goldhill (2010), 50.
[137] Goldhill (2010), 68.

questions that Goldhill asks of the literary material analysed in his study gravitate around the same critical questions that are commonly asked of epigraphic material: the question of 'who speaks?' often appears articulated as ‘who is setting up the monument in question?’, ‘are they insiders or outsiders?’, and, ‘what are their motives?’ All four aspects of the evidence that describes something as local, which Goldhill argues should be considered, are bound up in response to these questions. The role of the intended audience is implied by the question 'who speaks?' and by Goldhill’s consideration of the material that it is in a ‘performative utterance’. While it can be argued that not all literary works were intended for a wide audience, by contrast public monuments were seen by most of a city's population. Furthermore, their accompanying inscriptions were not always meant to be read but simply seen. There is a strong case to be made for the performativity of marking local identity and knowledge in the setting up and then the interpretation of public monuments in provincial cities.[138] For this very reason, the position of the intended audience needs to be made more explicit in the consideration of the motives of the speaker and the understanding of the inscriptions by the audience.[139] In order to analyse this we can ask 'how can the reading or viewing of a public inscription make its audience an insider or outsider?' and 'what features of an inscription can be identified as including or excluding particular groups or individuals?'; 'what knowledge is the audience required to have?'.

For the purpose of this investigation, a very loose definition of 'insiders' and 'outsiders' will be given; the local inhabitants of Cyprus will be considered as 'insiders', and any Roman citizens from Italy, local elites enfranchised elsewhere in the provinces, and any other visitors passing through or settling on the island will be considered as 'outsiders'. The purpose of defining 'insiders' and 'outsiders' in these terms is to highlight the problems of assuming the

[138] Cf. van Nijf (2000) and (2010).
[139] Whitmarsh (2010b), 11.

identities and experiences of individuals and groups in Roman Cyprus to be either 'Roman' or 'Greek', in this case 'Greek' could be taken to mean 'Cypriot'. The purpose of these definitions is to facilitate an investigation of the variety of local reactions to Roman rule in Cyprus, and the interactions of the Cypriots with their rulers, visitors, and ultimately each other. The notion of insiders and outsiders, in this case 'Greeks' and 'Romans', is complex and can be used to investigate the culture and society of Roman Cyprus at a micro level. Institutions embedded in the hierarchies of ancient Roman society, the practice of local cults, the grant of Roman citizenship in the provinces, the freedoms and limitations of gender and age complicate the picture of being 'Roman' and 'not Roman' in Cyprus. All of these factors are represented in epigraphic evidence. The definition of insiders as local inhabitants of Cyprus and outsiders as Romans and other visitors is then deconstructed as we are forced to ask of the evidence, 'in what ways can insiders behave as, or even become, outsiders?' (and vice versa), and, 'how can insiders include or alienate other insiders from shared cultural experiences?' (and again, vice versa). *Being* is very different to *behaving*.

Why epigraphy?

As discussed above, Roman Cyprus is rich in epigraphic evidence and therefore will be the primary source evidence that will be presented in this investigation. Not only do inscriptions provide an insight into the official dialogue between Rome and province, local identity, knowledge, and experience can be observed in material evidence which demonstrates local reaction to Roman rule. These themes will be investigated through contextual analysis, rather than through technical corrections and emendations, of the inscriptions across the island.

Nevertheless, the limitations of studying inscriptions are obvious. It cannot be denied that, because of the expense and political, whether local or empire-wide, circumstances often surrounding the setting up of inscriptions mostly reflects the activities of a particular social class, the elite. The cultural phenomenon of monumentalising oneself for posterity was realised by lower orders of ancient society, and it is predominantly in funerary monuments that their lives are recorded.[140] It has also been argued that inscriptions present information that is not 'neutral' but contrived and that, because of this, there is a danger in reading the epigraphic record too literally as if it were a true snap-shot of an actual linguistic situation.[141] Increasingly, epigraphy has been recognised as a discipline that encompasses the study of artefacts from different spheres of ancient society, from public, monumental texts to stamps and signatures on domestic instruments.[142] Furthermore, scholarly engagement with these artefacts now often extends beyond analysing the text in isolation and takes into consideration any accompanying monument, such as a statue, and also the environment in which epigraphic evidence was set up in, used, or re-used. Furthermore, reflection upon the procedures for setting up monuments and the impact on the environment in which they were erected, including the viewers of inscriptions whatever their form and appearance, broadens the scope for using inscriptions to study other social classes other than the upper elite. Van Nijf's study on the epigraphy of Termessos demonstrates that the epigraphy of a city is not completely dominated by the local elites but also reveals something about the role of those at the lower end of the social hierarchy. Also fundamental to the study of power and identity investigated through epigraphy is van Nijf's argument that the voices of the sub elite are detected indirectly through epigraphic evidence. The process of setting up honorific

[140] Bodel (2010), 116.
[141] Wallace-Hadrill (2008), 93. On the other hand, Bodel (2010), 117 argues that a sense of local and colloquial speech can be detected in inscriptions.
[142] Bodel (2010), 118.

monuments (however large or small), and decrees, required the presence of an audience or the permission of the community to decide when and where the monument should be erected, as well as the presence of the person or group being honoured. Effectively, everybody in a community had a role to play.[143]

It has also been shown that the message of an inscription, for instance the conscious display of identity - particularly a desire to express cultural bilingualism - through the use of language and epigraphic conventions, could also be complemented visually by the accompanying statue or a monument to which an inscription may have been attached.[144] While the accompanying statues of pedestals from Roman Cyprus have not survived, where possible this study considers the way in which a statue, or even the environment in which a monument was set up, contributed to the overall representation of individual or collective identity.

This study will now present four chapters which will investigate individual and collective experiences of power and representations of identity in Roman Cyprus. Chapter two, 'The Roman annexation and early administration of Cyprus', aims to 'set the scene' by providing an overview of the events leading up to, and during, Cyprus' annexation and absorption into the Roman Empire. (Figure Two). This is fundamental for contextualising analysis of individual and collective Cypriot negotiation of power and identity whether in reaction to Rome, the region of the eastern Mediterranean or Cypriot culture and society internally. As mentioned above, This chapter will also set out how Rome governed Cyprus as a province and will consider evidence from the mid first century BC to the mid fourth century AD.

[143] van Nijf (2000).
[144] For example: Smith (1998); Stewart (2003), 166-9; Ma (2007a); Ma (2013).

Chapter three will re-address the topic of Roman citizenship and consider its impact on the island. This chapter will revisit Mitford's 1980-published study 'Roman *Civitas* in Salamis' which observed when, where, and, how citizenship appeared in Cyprus. This investigation will build upon Mitford's study and will explore how Roman citizens and high profile visitors from outside the island, along with locally enfranchised elites, asserted their identity in public monuments. For comparison, the monuments of high profile local elites who did not obtain citizenship will be briefly considered. The chapter also addresses some of Mitford's conclusions about the interest of local elites in obtaining Roman citizenship and additionally the role of local elites in investing in the embellishment of their home cities, something that Mitford claimed occurred after the *Constitutio Antoniniana* in AD 212.

Chapter four will investigate collective power and identity by turning to the *poleis* of Roman Cyprus and will focus on four *poleis* in particular; Nea Paphos and Palaipaphos, Kourion, Amathous, and Salamis. (Figure Three). Central to this investigation is the exploration of the construction of civic identity by insiders and outsiders. Evidence for the use of mythology, particularly foundation myths, and local religious practices will be considered in the study of each *polis*. This chapter on 'local' knowledge, collective identity, and experience in Roman Cyprus will also consider the extent to which civic rivalry existed within the island, thus challenging Hill's notion that individuality and collective sentiment did not exist in the *poleis* of Roman Cyprus.

Chapter five, 'Island Identity Beyond Cyprus', will consider the overall identity of the island under Rome. To explore this theme, evidence for the representation of individuals and the *poleis* of Cyprus in monuments outside the island will be considered. The chapter will then explore the monuments and activities of the *koinon* of Cyprus inside and outside the island.

Several major themes run through this investigation of the culture and society of Roman Cyprus: the phenomena of cultural change; the epigraphic habit of the island under Rome; the construction of power and identity by insiders and outsiders; and the question of whether multiple expressions of identity and experiences of power existed alongside one another. The overall aim of this study is to move beyond the traditional characterisation of Roman Cyprus' history as uneventful and insignificant, and the stigma of it as a 'weary' and submissive Roman province. This investigation seeks to move away from generalising the identity of Cyprus' inhabitants, either as individuals or as part of a community, and their experience of Roman power by focussing on local identity and experience. Finally, this will also enable us to consider more carefully what the 'Cypriot quality' of the island's culture and society under Rome was.[145]

[145] Cf. Mitford (1980a), 1288.

Chapter Two. The Roman Annexation and Administration of Cyprus.

2.1. Introduction.

This chapter aims to 'set the scene' for the remainder of this investigation by providing an overview of the Roman annexation and subsequent administration of the island. The politics surrounding the annexation, provided by numerous ancient authors, have been extensively studied.[146] Therefore, for the sake of brevity, this chapter will summarise key details about the annexation and consider scholarly analyses of the events that occurred. To date, studies of the Roman annexation of Cyprus have debated, and given most emphasis to, the motivations and actions of the key individuals involved in the drama. Of importance to this study is the question of whether local reactions to political and cultural change can be detected in material culture. Is it possible to detect local reaction to the events surrounding the annexation? If so, how is this expressed and how does this compare with the accounts given in the literary sources? This is particularly interesting to consider given the circumstances in which Cyprus was absorbed into the Roman Empire. Literary evidence has also been crucial for unlocking the organisation and character of the early stages of Roman administration of the island, particularly from 58-22 BC. After 22 BC, literary references of the identities and activities of Roman officials posted to the island are sparse.[147] From the beginning of the early empire onwards it is the material record that is most instructive. A re-evaluation of the literary and material evidence from the early stages of Roman rule, using the framework of insiders and outsiders, will enable an evaluation of Roman power and also a

[146] Cf. Engel (1841), 431-44; Cesnola (1877), 28-9; Sakellarios (1890), 379-83; Zannetos (1910), 414-21; Chapot (1912), 59-74; Oberhummer (1923), 105; Jones (1937), 371; Hill (1940), 205-11; Oost (1955); Vessberg (1956), 235-40; Olshausen (1963), 38-44; Badian (1965a); Mitford (1980a), 1289-91; Michaelides (1990), 110-2; Potter (2000), 772-8. The studies of Oost (1955), Badian (1965a), Mitford (1980a), and Potter (2000), all offer the most detailed analyses and remain essential to consult.
[147] Mitford (1980a), 1297-8.

consideration of the immediate aftermath of the annexation from a more 'Cypriot' perspective, something that has not been pursued rigorously in the past.

The structure and organisation of Roman administration in Cyprus has also been dealt with extensively. Mitford, building upon a list originally created by Hill, was the first scholar to present a timeline of the administration of Cyprus from 58 BC right up to the sixth century AD which compiled the evidence for Roman officials such as literary, epigraphic, and numismatic evidence.[148] The data presented by Mitford for proconsuls of Roman Cyprus, has subsequently been revised.[149] This chapter will first attempt to present the evidence for proconsuls of Roman Cyprus before offering detailed analysis of the data to explore further the relationship between Roman officials and Cypriots. A re-examination of the evidence, along with the study of new and previously overlooked material, could reveal a more detailed picture of local interactions with Rome. The available evidence for the proconsuls of Roman Cyprus significantly outweighs the evidence for other officials; therefore, this study will deal only with the representation of the Roman proconsuls in the literary and material record and will not address evidence that attests their subordinates. Furthermore, the proconsuls of Roman Cyprus are attested in a vast range of literary and material sources which allows this investigation to ask more probing questions about the relationship between Rome and province. As the individuals in charge of the administration of the island, and ultimately the representative of the Emperor in the province, study of the impact of the proconsuls is a crucial starting point. Analysis of the evidence will stop short at the middle of the fourth century AD and omit data that Mitford compiled in his original list for the fifth and sixth-

[148] Hill (1940), 226-7, 254-6 and Mitford (1980a), 1292-1308, 1375-80.
[149] Thomasson (1984), 299-305; Cf. also Eck (1972-3), 250-3; Christol (1986); and Potter (2000), 774-96, 808-10, 813-7.

centuries AD. Not only is the evidence for the later years of Roman rule sparse, but it does not fall within the time frame of this study.

To investigate Cypriot responses to the impact of Rome on Cyprus the following features of the epigraphic, numismatic, and literary sources will be examined: where monuments were set up, by whom and why; the use of epithets; and in general the use of epigraphic conventions and language.

2.2. The annexation of Roman Cyprus.

2.2.1. 58 BC.

In 58 BC Publius Clodius Pulcher, tribune of the plebs, instigated a law, the *lex Clodia*, the terms of which included the following:[150] that King Ptolemy of Cyprus should be dethroned and that Cato should be sent to carry out the mission;[151] and that the property of Ptolemy of Cyprus belonged to the Roman state.[152] Later that year, Cato departed from Rome and set sail to Rhodes first; from there he sent Canidius to offer Ptolemy of Cyprus the Priesthood of Aphrodite as compensation for the confiscation of his land and property.[153] Rather than accept these terms, Ptolemy of Cyprus committed suicide.[154] Cato arrived in Cyprus in 58 BC and oversaw the forced sale of the property of Ptolemy of Cyprus, which he administered in the best manner, exacting maximum profit from every sale.[155] Cato finally

[150] In general see Cicero, *De Domo Sua*, 52-3; Cicero, *Pro Sestio*, 56-7, 62; Velleius Paterculus, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, 2.38.6; 2.45.4; Plutarch, *Cato Minor*, 34-9; Florus, *Epitome*, 1.44.9; Appian, *Bellum Civile*, 2.3.23; Cassius Dio, 38.30.5; 39.22.2; Rufius Festus, *Breviarium*, 13.1; Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, 14.8.15.
[151] Cicero, *Pro Sestio*, 60: on the intentions of Clodius; Velleius Paterculus, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, 2.45.4: Clodius sent Cato away on the pretence that the mission was honourable; Plutarch, *Cato Minor*, 34.2-3: depicts Clodius as scheming but that he thought Cato alone worthy of the mission; Cassius Dio, 38.30.5: that Clodius proposed this law in order to avenge Ptolemy of Cyprus and get Cato to get him out of the way and that Cato went against his will; Florus, *Epitome*, 1.44.9; Rufius Festus, *Breviarium*, 13.1.
[152] Cassius Dio, 38.30.5.
[153] Plutarch, *Cato Minor*, 35.1-2.
[154] Velleius Paterculus, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, 2.45.5; Cassius Dio, 39.22.2; Plutarch, *Cato Minor*, 35.1, 36.1.
[155] Strabo, *Geographica*, 14.6.6. c.685; Cassius Dio, 39.22.3-4; Plutarch, *Cato Minor*, 36.2.

returned to Rome in 56 BC[156] with profits of the sale, which turned out to be an unprecedented amount of money, for the benefit of the Roman treasury.[157]

Responses to the annexation of Cyprus by scholars have ranged from echoing the tone of Cicero's protests at the illegality of the annexation and the injustice done to King Ptolemy of Cyprus by the nefarious Clodius, to downplaying the importance of these events.[158] The structure and details of Chapot's study, as discussed in the previous chapter, heavily influenced Hill who wrote that Cyprus was 'seized' by the Romans, having used trumped up charges against the unfortunate Ptolemy of Cyprus.[159] For both Chapot and Hill the annexation of Cyprus was in effect a robbery.[160] Oberhummer provided a sinister and vivid account of the events as he depicted Rome seizing fruit ripe for the picking and Cyprus as hunted prey.[161] In the same spirit, Oost argued that there was no moral justification for the annexation of Cyprus; King Ptolemy of Cyprus was a victim, his portrayal in some of the literary accounts 'grossly unfair', and Rome's actions could be considered as a 'barefaced robbery'.[162] In a break from previous scholarship on the annexation, Badian suggested that it was in fact a 'very orderly affair'.[163] Mitford's 'Roman Cyprus' maintained the narrative established by scholars before Badian's study and described the annexation as 'abrupt' and 'brutal'.[164] Most recently, Potter acknowledged that scholars have been tempted to see the

[156] Plutarch, *Cato Minor*, 39.1; Cassius, Dio 39.22.1; 39.23.2.
[157] Cicero, *Pro Sestio*, 59.; Velleius Paterculus, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, 2.45.5; Plutarch, *Cato Minor*, 38.1-2; 39.3. Rufius Festus, *Breviarium*, 13.1.
[158] Cf. Cicero, *De Domo Sua*, 52-3; Cicero, *Pro Sestio*, 56-7, 62; Cicero, *De Haruspicum Responsis*, 59 all of which portray Clodius and his deeds in a negative light.
[159] Chapot (1912), 62; Hill (1940), 207.
[160] Hill (1940), 207, following Chapot (1912), 62-5; Vessberg (1956), 235-40 added nothing new to the debate and simply imitated Hill's account.
[161] Oberhummer (1923), 105.
[162] Oost (1955), 98, 101 and 108.
[163] Badian (1965a), 117.
[164] Mitford (1980a), 1289.

annexation in 58 BC by Rome as a grand design against Egypt, and he suggested that Rome in fact created order out of the chaos.[165]

The treatment of the annexation by Oost, Badian, and Potter is worth looking at in detail. Steve Irwin Oost's article 'Cato *Uticensis* and the annexation of Cyprus' is perhaps the study that is the most critical of the main players of the annexation and their motives, and also of the primary sources that recount the events of 58 BC.[166] Oost also sought to discuss 'obscurities and discrepancies in many of the standard accounts of this transaction' which needed clarification.[167] Prior to Oost, primary literary sources which outlined details about the annexation were briefly touched upon in summaries of Cyprus' history under Rome, but detailed analysis of the accounts was lacking. For Oost, the annexation of Cyprus was testimony to the dubious and greedy character of Clodius and Cato, and Ptolemy of Cyprus as the real victim. Despite some literary sources recording Cato's protests at being sent to Cyprus by Clodius, Oost suggested that he 'must have acquiesced in this cold-blooded highway robbery' and that he turned a blind eye to Brutus' (his nephew) infamous exploitation of Salamis' citizens.[168] Ernst Badian's article 'M. Porcius Cato and the Annexation and Early Administration of Cyprus' praised Oost's article and he further explored the events surrounding the introduction of the *lex Clodia* particularly Clodius' motives for sending Cato to Cyprus[169] and the economic gain for Rome.[170] In general, both Oost and Badian placed much emphasis on the greed of individual politicians during this episode. Mitford's 'Roman Cyprus' avoided recounting the details of the whole affair and

[165] Potter (2000), 773.
[166] Cf. Oost (1955), 101-2, footnotes 32-6 and, 104-8 in particular.
[167] Oost (1955), 98.
[168] Oost (1955), 107-8.
[169] Badian (1965a), 117 and footnote 53 in response to Oost (1955), 99.
[170] Badian (1965a), 112-3, and 115-8 in response to Oost (1955), 99.

directed his reader to the accounts of his predecessors Hill and Badian, citing Badian as the superior study.[171]

Finally, Potter's 'Roman Cyprus' further contextualised the events surrounding the annexation of Cyprus within the wider history of the Mediterranean by providing an insight into Ptolemaic rule and administration of Cyprus prior to Rome's intervention. Most of the accounts which discuss the annexation of Cyprus, whether lengthy or brief, are in agreement about the annexation of Cyprus for Rome's own means.[172] However, for Potter, the unification of the Mediterranean and Cyprus' incorporation into the Roman Empire were not motivated by Rome's greed, nor its economic interests.[173] Key to Potter's case is the history of piracy in the Mediterranean; piracy was a long-standing problem in the region that needed to be addressed, a task that was not initiated by Rome, but in fact by Rhodes.[174] Therefore, Rome's behaviour in the whole affair could be viewed as that of a responsible and concerned administrator for controlling an area overrun by pirates.[175] Potter stressed that while scholars have been tempted to see the annexation in 58 BC as a grand design against Egypt, Rome in fact created order out of chaos.[176] Furthermore, the inevitability of Cyprus' incorporation into the Roman Empire is made clear by the creation of the province of Syria in 63 BC by Pompey; the island was positioned in a region that was gradually being unified, stabilised, and controlled by Rome. It was only inevitable that the island became part of the Roman Empire.[177] This interpretation of the annexation dramatically differs from previous accounts which characterised the annexation of 58 BC as 'brutal' and the behaviour of Rome as

[171] Mitford (1980a), 1289-90, and footnote 7. It is surprising that Mitford did not refer to Oost's study as it is beneficial to any study that aims to explore these events.
[172] For instance, Oberhummer (1923), 105; Hill (1940), 207, following Chapot (1912), 62-5; Oost (1955), 98, 101, and 108; Badian (1965a), 117; Mitford (1980a), 1289-90.
[173] Potter (2000), 764-5, 768-72
[174] Potter (2000), 765.
[175] Potter (2000), 769-70.
[176] Potter (2000), 773.
[177] Potter (2000), 772. Cf. also Michaelides (1990), 112.

'predatory'.[178] But what of Cicero's persistent complaints about Pulcher's unjust treatment of King Ptolemy of Cyprus and of the island in general? Cicero's protests at the actions of Pulcher, and the inactivity of others who could have prevented the designs against Cyprus, do in fact highlight that the circumstances of the annexation were partly a result of the squabbles that occurred between Rome's nobility. Rome's involvement in Cyprus was very much driven by the ambitions of Pulcher and not necessarily by a grand design of Rome against Egypt.[179]

What is apparent is that two distinct schools of thought concerning the Roman annexation of Cyprus have emerged. One asserts that Rome had its watchful eye on Cyprus for a long time and struck at the most opportune moment. The other holds that the annexation of the island was not unusual in the politics of Rome. While the more recent contextualisation of the situation of the island in the Mediterranean, which included a consideration of the issue of piracy and the power struggles between Roman politicians, diminishes the traditional characterisation of Rome acting in a predatory way, it is hard to deny that the forced annexation of Cyprus was one of many key actions that secured the 'beginning of the end' of Egypt's control over the region, thus finalising the demise of the Ptolemies.

2.2.2. The Ptolemaic 'regime'.

While the opinions and responses of individuals at Rome who witnessed the annexation of Cyprus, and of ancient authors commenting long after the event, are attested in the literary record, the reactions of Cypriots are not so well documented. The significance of Cyprus as a Ptolemaic possession and the way in which the island was governed will be necessary to consider before Cypriot, and other local, responses to the annexation of the island are examined.

[178] Oberhummer (1923), 105; Mitford (1980a), 1289.
[179] Potter (2000), 775; echoed by Fujii (2013), 14-5.

Cyprus has been recognised as important for strategic and political reasons in the immediate aftermath of the death of Alexander the Great and as the first and last possession of the Ptolemies.[180] Hellenistic Cyprus was a military and naval stronghold governed by a supreme official who bore the title *strategos*.[181] The *strategos* was a central figure in the administration of the island from the beginning of Ptolemy I Soter's domination and in 'the second century, if not before, the governorship of Cyprus was the most important post outside Egypt at the disposal of the Ptolemies.'[182] 'The *strategoi* were men of the highest rank, for whom this position of authority in Cyprus was usually the culminating point of a long career of service to the crown.'[183] They also bore the title of 'kinsman' to the ruling Ptolemies and their functions were civil, military, and sometimes those of a high priest.[184] Honorific monuments discovered at the Sanctuary of Aphrodite at Palaipaphos suggest the interactions that the *strategoi* had in the privileged circle of the Ptolemaic royal court,[185] with the soldiers of the garrisons stationed on the island who dedicated honorific monuments to the *strategoi* and their families,[186] the cities of Cyprus,[187] and with the local elite.[188] Few leading citizens

[180] Hill (1940), 184; Mitford (1953), 81; Bagnall (1976), 1, 38, 46; and Watkin (1988), 112-30.
[181] Hill (1940), 175; Bagnall (1976), 47, 49-50.
[182] Bagnall (1976), 38-9, 46 and Appendix A: 252-62. Cf. Hill (1940), 175: that the post was not so important once the politics of the region had calmed.
[183] Bagnall (1976), 46.
[184] Bagnall (1976), 46-7.
[185] Monuments set up by the *strategoi* of Cyprus for the ruling Ptolemies: Mitford (1961b), inscription nos. 51, 53, 88, and 93.
[186] Bagnall (1976), 47. Cf. Hellenistic monuments set up by the garrisons of Cyprus for the *strategoi* and members of their families, discovered at the Sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia at Palaipaphos: Mitford (1961b), inscription nos. 52, 69, 71, 73, 75, 76, 77, 79, 80, 81, 83, 84, 91, and 96. Note also Hellenistic monuments set up by the garrisons of Cyprus for the ruling Ptolemies, discovered at the Sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia at Palaipaphos: Mitford (1961b), inscription nos. 55, 59, and 94.
[187] Bagnall (1976), 47. Hellenistic monuments of the *strategoi* of Cyprus and their families by the city of Paphos, discovered at the Sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia at Palaipaphos: Mitford (1961b), inscription nos. 39, 43, 44, and 78.
[188] Mitford (1961b), inscription nos. 46, 49, 54, 85, 86, and 98: The administrative titles attested in these inscriptions include 'Commander of the Cavalry' in Alexandria and 'Instructor Royal in Tactics' in no. 54, an usher to the Court in no. 85, 86, and secretary of the city in no. 98.

of Cyprus are known to have attained the distinction of being rewarded with a position close to the Royal Court.[189]

The quantity of monuments naming the ruling Ptolemies, the *strategos* and his subordinates, and of the garrisons stationed on the island by the Ptolemies was heavily felt in Cyprus during the Hellenistic period, leading to conclusions that under the Ptolemies, Cyprus was suppressed, 'sternly controlled', heavily exploited, and under a regime.[190] On the other hand, despite being in the dark about the quality and efficiency of Ptolemaic rule, it appears that some positive developments can be detected. Firstly, Hill suggested that while the Ptolemies bled the island of its resources, with their rule came some peace, which would have been a considerable change from the warring kings who ruled the city states prior to the Hellenistic period.[191] Secondly, it is apparent that there was an uneven but steady development of the *polis* and its institutions under Ptolemaic rule, which suggests that while the island was sternly controlled, local government existed and the people of the island enjoyed some freedom.[192]

2.2.3. From 'hub' to periphery: Cypriot reaction to the Roman annexation.

The annexation of Cyprus from Egypt marked a significant change in the geographic importance of the island; it was no longer an important 'hub' of an empire. The implications of this geographical and political demotion for Cyprus were considerable. Writing long after the event, Cassius Dio's account of the annexation provided a significant insight into local reaction to the annexation and wrote that the Cypriots welcomed Cato hoping to be friends

[189] For example, Mitford (1961b), inscription nos. 99 and 107.
[190] Hill (1940), 173-211; Mitford (1953), particularly 81-2, 88; Bagnall (1976), chapter four; Watkin (1988) part two; Potter (2000), 776-7.
[191] Hill (1940), 174-5.
[192] Hill (1940), 179; Watkin (1988), part two.

and allies (φίλοι καὶ σύμμαχοι) rather than as slaves.[193] Immediately prior to the annexation, Cassius Dio reported that the elders of Alexandria were angry and frustrated with Ptolemy Auletes, brother of Ptolemy of Cyprus, because of the huge debts which he ran up in buying recognition from the Romans of his position, and furthermore, they had asked that he demand back Cyprus from the Romans or else renounce his friendship with them.[194] Unwilling, and also unable to do so, Ptolemy Auletes then fled Egypt to Rome, accusing his countrymen of expelling him from his own kingdom.[195] This episode highlights that the possession of Cyprus by the Romans was a sore point for those in Alexandria and that its loss in 58 BC would have been deeply felt. While the material evidence cannot permanently record a sudden political change as is achieved by literary sources, even if they were written by outsiders, the muted and seemingly compliant response of local inhabitants appears surprising. The Cypriot response to Cato's arrival on the island, particularly their wish to be treated as friends and allies, as recorded by Cassius Dio, divided scholars investigating the annexation. Hill suggested that Cassius Dio was naïve to write that the Cypriots could have hoped for such an outcome.[196] On the other hand, Oost stated that the Cypriots were not naïve to believe that they could attain a certain level of independence from Rome.[197] Jones suggested that the Cypriots welcomed the Romans hoping to be allies, but perhaps regretted this as they enjoyed no privileges under Rome.[198] Jones' suggestion was further elaborated by

[193] Cassius Dio, 39.22.3. See chapter two of Millar's classic (1964) study of Cassius Dio which highlights the ancient historian's method, style, use of sources, and reliability.
[194] Cassius Dio, 39.12.1-3.
[195] Cassius Dio, 39.12.3.
[196] Hill (1940), 208, footnote 2, following Chapot (1912), 67, footnote 1.
[197] Oost (1955), 99.
[198] Jones (1937), 371.

Mitford who wrote that Cyprus shared the fate of Egypt as *dediticii*, enemies surrendered at discretion.[199]

The phrase φίλοι καὶ σύμμαχοι recurs in Cicero's speeches when he recalled the betrayal of King Ptolemy of Cyprus, who at the time of the annexation was not an official enemy of Rome but a friend and an ally.[200] Therefore, Cassius Dio's use of the phrase could also be considered as evocative of the treaty that Cicero recalled.[201] It is equally possible that the Cypriots were aware of the implications of being taken over by new rulers. The much discredited Cesnola recounted a version of the suicide of Ptolemy of Cyprus that is thought to be highly exaggerated and incorrect. Despite the over dramatic nature of the account, it highlights that, with the suicide of their king, the Cypriots had no other choice but to welcome Rome.[202] Cesnola was correct to emphasise the sense of desperation that may have been felt by Ptolemy of Cyprus who found himself in a situation where it may not have been possible to resist the power of Rome, who in reality had nothing to fear from Egypt and any attempt to resist the annexation would have been a 'feeble resistance'.[203]

The very fact that the Cypriots showed little, if any, resistance to the Roman takeover of the island should not be interpreted with flippancy nor considered as immediate enthusiasm for Roman rule. It could be interpreted that the Cypriots understood their position, in what can be described as a huge political upheaval in the Mediterranean at this time, and saw the benefit of playing the game by Roman rules. The fact remains that in Cyprus, Rome confiscated the property of King Ptolemy of Cyprus, seized the wealthy stores

[199] Mitford (1980a), 1290, 1296.
[200] Cf. Cicero, *De Domo Sua*, 20-1; 52; Cicero, *Pro Sestio*, 57.
[201] Cf. Mitford (1980a), 1289, and footnote 5: on the *Senatus Consultum* of 100 BC: *SEG* 1.161; *SEG* 2.378.
[202] Cesnola (1877), 29; Oost (1955), 101 and footnote 31. Cassius Dio, 39.22.2: That Ptolemy of Cyprus did not dare rise up against Rome.
[203] Cassius Dio, 39.12.2-3 suggested that Egypt did not have any troops at its disposal to defend Cyprus from Rome. Cf. Oost (1955), 99.

and treasures of the island's famed sanctuaries and temples, and removed slaves from the island to boost Rome's treasury and to serve Rome. This is further highlighted by an episode which, according to Cassius Dio, occurred on Cato's return to Rome. Cato and Clodius wished to name the slaves taken from the island as the Porcians or the Claudians respectively in order to claim possession of them and perpetuate their own power and identities.[204] The episode seems to serve the purpose of conveying the unsteady relationship between Cato and Clodius.

Discussing the presence of 'foreigners' in Cyprus throughout the ages, Ino Nicolaou's suggestion that the ancient Cypriots always made the best of any situation in which they found themselves in, often showing preference for the power in charge, is interesting.[205] This observation highlights that ancient Cypriots may have been historically conscious that they inhabited an island that was destined to be conquered because of its geographical position.

2.3. The administration of Roman Cyprus.

2.3.1. Initial administration: 58 BC - 48/7 BC.

Little is known about the early administration of Cyprus and it seems that no special provisions were made for the administration of the island following Cato's departure. The surviving literary and material evidence from this first phase of Roman administration reveals that Cyprus was the responsibility of the proconsul of Cilicia and that the known proconsuls held the post lasting different lengths of time.[206]

[204] Cassius Dio, 39.23.2-3.
[205] Nicolaou (1986), 423.
[206] Hill (1940), 226-7, 254-6; Mitford (1980a), 1291-2.

P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, the man to whom Cicero owed his return from exile, was the proconsul of Cilicia during 56-53 BC.[207] Mitford questioned Badian's suggestion that P. Lentulus Spinther was the first proconsul of Cyprus.[208] While it was recorded that Cato oversaw the annexation of the island and orchestrated the sale of the seized property of Ptolemy of Cyprus, none of the literary evidence alludes to Cato holding the title of proconsul.[209] Therefore, it seems that P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther was the island's first proconsul and that there was not a proconsul of the island between 58-56 BC. A case was recently made for L. Coelius Pamphilus being appointed as the first proconsul, between 58-56 BC, but given that Cato was awarded the extraordinary power of *imperium pro praetore* to oversee the annexation, it seems unlikely that another Roman official of high status was working with him during this time.[210] All that is known of Spinther's governorship is that when he took over as proconsul, he had the customary formal meeting with his predecessor, T. Ampius Balbus.[211] It has also been assumed that Spinther issued an edict as proconsul to the island, and that this, as was the custom, would have been adapted by his successors and repeated upon taking up their post as proconsul of the island.[212] The next known proconsul, Appius Claudius Pulcher, governed between 53-51 BC and is characterised as a bad administrator by Cicero.[213] In contrast, Cicero, proconsul of Cilicia from 51-50 BC,[214] was a reluctant proconsul, opting to stay in his post for the minimum time unlike his predecessors,

[207] Cicero, *Ad Familiares*, 1.7.4 = *SB* 18.4; Cf. Broughton (1952), 199-200, 210, 229; Mitford (1980a), 1292, proconsul no. 2; *I.Paphos*, 318.
[208] Badian (1965a), 121; Mitford (1980a), 1292, footnote 14.
[209] Cicero, *Pro Sestio*, 57; Velleius Paterculus, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, 2.45.5; Plutarch, *Cato Minor*, 39; Cassius Dio, 39.23.2; Cf. Broughton (1952), 198 and 211.
[210] Cf. *I.Paphos*, 318 and no. 160.
[211] Hill (1940), 226, footnote 3: Cicero, *Ad Familiares*, 3.7.5 = *SB* 71.5. Lentulus Ampio should be read for Lentulus Appio. Badian (1965a), 121: Badian connected Lentulus Spinther with a P. Lentulus who annexed Cyrene in 74 BC, suggesting that he was either the same man or closely related.
[212] Badian (1965a), 115; Lintott (1993), 28.
[213] Cicero, *Ad Familiares*, 3.8.2-5 = *SB* 70.2-5. Cf. Broughton (1952), 237, 242, 299; Mitford (1980a), 1292, proconsul no. 3; *I.Paphos*, 318.
[214] Cf. Broughton (1952), 243, 250-2; Mitford (1980a), 1292, proconsul no. 4; *I.Paphos*, 318.

who regarded their positions in the provinces as opportunities for personal gain, and had clung on to them as long as possible. Cicero found that his predecessors had exacted from the wealthy cities large sums of money as compensation for not having soldiers billeted on them in the winter; for example the Cypriots paid 200 Attic talents in this sort of blackmail.[215] His government of the island was tainted by the exploitation of the Salaminians at the hands of Scaptius and Matinius, the agents of Brutus, which had occurred earlier in 56 BC; Cicero's management and eventual resolution of the affair is indicative of how hands-off a proconsul could be even in a moment of crisis.[216]

Nevertheless, Cicero's correspondence sheds some light on the interactions between Rome officials and provincials. He stated that he would not allow a single penny to be exacted from the island, nor would he allow any honours to be decreed to him, such as statues, shrines, *quadrigae*, accepting verbal thanks alone.[217] Whether Cicero's claim was true or not, his correspondence emphasises that the material record alone does not reflect local responses to political situations. Furthermore, his behaviour and intentions stand in great contrast to those of his predecessors who 'had descended on the island like locusts'.[218] It is recorded that a C. Coelius Caldus remained as *pro quaestor* in Cilicia following Cicero's departure.[219] The arrival of P. Sestius in Cilicia is attested in the literary sources and it is possible that he oversaw the administration of the island in 49 BC.[220] Also in 49 BC, the island's first *quaestor*, a Sextilius Rufus, was appointed.[221]

[215] Jones (1937), 371.
[216] Engel (1841), 447-54; Oberhummer (1923), 105; Hill (1940), 226-30; Oost (1955), 105-7; Vessberg (1956), 238-9; Badian (1965a); Jones (1937), 371; Mitford (1980a), 1291.
[217] Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, 5.21.7 = *SB* 114.7.
[218] Hill (1940), 227.
[219] Broughton (1952), 261.
[220] Broughton (1952), 264.
[221] Cicero, *Ad Familiares*, 13.48 = *SB* 142. Cf. Badian (1965a), 114; Mitford (1980a), 1239; *I.Paphos*, 318.

The activities of C. Coelius Caldus and P. Sestius were omitted from Mitford's 'Roman Cyprus', therefore, the fourth named Roman official acting in Cilicia, and Cyprus, in his study was a L. Coelius Pamphilius and his proconsulship of the island is dated with some uncertainty to the end of the Republic.[222] Potter highlighted that this individual should be omitted from Thomasson's revised list of Roman proconsuls.[223]

The governorship of a M. Vehilius, proconsul of Cilicia and Cyprus was next observed by Mitford and is dated between 42 and 39 BC, or after 22 BC. A statue base, this time discovered at Nea Paphos attests his office in Cyprus.[224] A preferable date for his proconsulship is between 22-15 BC, this is addressed later in this, and the following, chapter.[225]

2.3.2. Ptolemaic restoration.

Literary and numismatic evidence verifies the Ptolemaic restoration of Cyprus in 48/7 to 30 BC. Julius Caesar, as Roman consul, returned the island to Egypt and it effectively came under the control of the sister and brother of Cleopatra VII.[226] Significantly, the mint of Paphos resumed activity in 47 BC, and bronze coins were minted in the names of Cleopatra and Ptolemy XV Caesarion, both of whom were depicted at Aphrodite and Eros

[222] Mitford (1980a), 1292, proconsul no. 5; Thomasson (1984), 299, no. 36. Cf. *PIR*^{2} C 1249. This proconsul was identified as an L. Coelius Pamphilus by Mitford who noted that his name had been misread as Tarphinus, Tamphilius, Garifinus by Hogarth, James, et al. (1888) and the editors of *IGR* and *PIR*. The most recent reading of the text by *I.Paphos*, no. 160 supports Mitford's correction of the name as L. Coelius Pamphilus. See above on the dating of this proconsul: *I.Paphos*, 318 has recently dated the monument and the proconsulship of this individual to 58-56 BC; Mitford (1980a), 1292 suggested a date between 50 and 48/7BC. *I.Paphos*, 318 also suggested that a certain Potamon was an official in charge in 49-48/7 BC.

[223] Potter (2000), 788. Cf. This chapter, section **2.4.1**. Confusingly, an inscription from the Sanctuary of Aphrodite at Palaipaphos shows that he was honoured by the city of Paphos for reasons that are not clear: Hogarth, James, et al. (1888), 243, no. 68; *IGR* III 953; *I.Paphos*, no. 160. The inscription clearly names the individual as τον ἀνθύπατον καὶ στρατηγόν but because of the lack of evidence for this individual elsewhere it is difficult to interpret this monument.

[224] Chapter three, section **3.2.1**. **Nea Paphos Inscription** (*I.Paphos*, no. 242).

[225] Cf. This chapter, proconsul number 43.

[226] Appian, *Bellum Civile*, 5.1.9; 5.6.52; Cassius Dio, 42.35.4-6; 49.32.4-5.

respectively.[227] (Figure Four) Mark Antony is also described as later gifting Cyprus to Cleopatra VII and her sister Arsinoë.[228] He installed a certain Serapion as *strategos* of the island in 43 BC, a decision which ended in the execution of Serapion after he supplied C. Cassius Longinus with a fleet of ships from the island.[229] Antony then appointed Demetrios, a freedman of Caesar, to govern Cyprus in 39 BC.[230] Another staged donation of these lands to Cleopatra and her children by Antony in Alexandria is attested in 34 BC by Cassius Dio.[231] A statue base, discovered in the gymnasium of Salamis, dated to 38 BC, confirms Antony's restoration of Roman Cilicia to Ptolemaic Cyprus.[232] The phrase ὁ συ[γ]γενὴς τῶν βασιλέων καὶ στρατηγὸς τῆς νήσου καὶ Κιλικίας is resurrected in this monument set up by the *strategos* Diogenes Noumenios to a Stasikrates, in the city of Salamis. The term ὁ συγγενὴς (kinsman) is Ptolemaic and recalls the close relationship of the proconsul to the royal court. Again, however, nothing in this inscription reflects the sentiment of Cypriots, only of their rulers.

2.3.3 After Actium.

In August 30 BC, Egypt finally fell under the control of Rome, and with it Cyprus. The status of Cyprus and how it was administered from 30-27 BC is unknown. In 27 BC Augustus was granted control of nine provinces with armies organised in places of strategic

[227] *RPC* Vol. I.I, 576, no. 3901. Cf. Cassius Dio, 49.32.5.
[228] Strabo, *Geographica*, 14.6, 6. c.685; Plutarch, *Antony*, 36.2; 54.4; Cassius Dio, 49.32; 49.41.1-2.
[229] Appian, *Bellum Civile*, 4.8.61; 5.1.9; Mitford (1980a), 1292; Potter (2000), 783.
[230] Cassius Dio, 48.40.6. Mitford (1980a), 1292; Potter (2000), 783-4.
[231] Plutarch, *Antony*, 54.4.
[232] *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 97. Cf. *I.Salamis*, 8, footnote 1; Bagnall (1976), 262; Nicolaou (1976), 53; Mitford (1980a), 1290.

importance.[233] In this new arrangement, Augustus, through legates endowed with *imperium pro praetore*, controlled Cyprus and a major reorganisation of the way in which the island was governed took place.[234] In order to prevent a proconsul gaining too powerful a hold over his province, Augustus' other administrative change was to shorten the length of time a proconsul held his office, and so the post began on the first July and was limited to one year.[235] Typical responsibilities of a proconsul included dispensing justice by resolving disputes between individuals or communities, overseeing the maintenance of roads, ensuring that cities did not bankrupt themselves, and maintaining public order, morality, and peace in the cities and countryside.[236] The Roman proconsul also had to make appointments to civic offices and ensure that the individuals elected by their communities were responsible and able to fulfil their duties.[237] As we will see, evidence from Cyprus reveals the fulfilment of the majority of these responsibilities by the proconsul and his staff.

In general, a Roman proconsul had little guidance on how to govern during his term in office and it seems that he had to rely on his own good sense and any instructions that came from the Emperor.[238] The proconsul of Cyprus was supported and assisted by a small body of staff, namely legates and quaestors to whom he could delegate some responsibilities.[239] The terms of office for the proconsul and the legate were staggered with that of the quaestor, that is to say the proconsul and the *legate* would see the last six months of the old *quaestor*'s term

[233] Strabo, *Geographica*, 17.3.25; Suetonius, *Divus Augustus*, 28; 47; Cassius Dio, 53.12.5-7; 53.13.1. The nine provinces were: Cyprus; Syria with Cilicia; Aegyptus; Lusitania; Tarraconensis; Narbonensis; Aquitania; Lugdunensis; Belgica.
[234] Potter (2000), 785.
[235] Richardson (1976), 64; Mitford (1980a), 1299; Michaelides (1990), 115.
[236] Potter (2000), 802-7, 812-7.
[237] Potter (2000), 796-7, 800-2, 806-7.
[238] Potter (2000), 796, and footnote 101. Note Cassius Dio, 79.30 who wrote that Iulius Avitus was sent by the Emperor Caracalla in AD 215 to Cyprus to assist the governor. It is reported that he died on the island. Cf. also Brunt (1975) on the particulars of the administration of Egypt for comparison.
[239] Mitford (1980a), 1305-7; Potter (2000), 796.

and the first six months of the new one's term.[240] In addition to *legates* and *quaestors*, the proconsul would also have to deal with curators and procurators of the emperor.[241] A *curator*, λογιστής, may have also been appointed by the Emperor to control civic expenditure; such an appointment would have been made in extreme circumstances and is attested at Paphos, Kourion and Soloi.[242] Often**,** procurators were connected with the Emperor's estates and were considerably powerful.[243]

The provincial procurator is to be distinguished from the procurators of mines and Imperial properties.[244] The mines were an important source of revenue and must have remained profitable in the Roman period, and were the responsibility of procurators of mines.[245] Few references to the organisation of the mines exist from the Roman period. It is known that in 12 BC, Augustus leased half of the production of the mines of Soloi to Herod in return for a payment of 300 talents.[246] In AD 166, Galen recorded his visit to the mines of Soloi and his account indicates the terrible working conditions of the mines and suggests that they were worked by slaves.[247]

[240] Mitford (1980a), 1299; Potter (2000), 796.
[241] Mitford (1980a), 1307-8. Cf. Nowakowski (2011) who identifies six procurators, contrary to the four that Mitford listed. Nowakowski also re-identifies procurator number four in Mitford's list.
[242] Potter (2000), 800, and footnote 118.
[243] Potter (2000), 800-3. Also cf. Mitford (1980a), 1307 where four procurators are attested.
[244] Mitford (1980a), 1307.
[245] For the mines of Cyprus: Davies (1928/9-1929/30); Bruce (1937); Hill (1940), 238; Mitford (1980a), 1297-8, 1327, 1347; Potter (2000), 802, 845, 846-7; Cf. Hirt (2010) in general for imperial mines. Cf. a Ptolemaic monument set up by the *koinon* of Cyprus for the *strategos* Potamon which implies the organisation of the mines in the Ptolemaic period: Hogarth, James, et al. (1888), 249, no. 102; *OGIS* I 165; Mitford (1961b), 39-40, no. 107; *SEG* 20.218.
[246] Josephus, *Antiquitates Iudaicae*, 16.4.5. Cf. also *IGR* III 938; *I.Paphos*, no. 235 which has been interpreted as a monument set up to commemorate Herod.
[247] Galen, *De Antidotis*, (ed. Kühn XIV p. 7). Cf. a fragmentary inscription from the environs of Soloi which could refer to the activity of the mine there in the second century AD: *RDAC* (1915), 17, no. 7; Mitford (1980a), 1327, footnote 177; *SEG* 30.1658.

2.3.4. Cyprus the public province.

In 22 BC Cyprus was returned to senatorial rule and became a public province, governed by proconsuls selected by lot rather than by the Emperor.[248] This return was an important point in the history of the island as it conditioned the relationship between the island and the ruling power.[249] It is clear that the post of proconsul in Cyprus was not a position that would advance the ambitions of Romans seeking glory and recognition, and as a rule it seems that Cyprus was an easy province to govern. Potter observed that men who governed public provinces did not often rise above the praetorship and this meant that Cypriots had limited access to high ranking Roman nobility and could get very little out of a close relationship with the proconsul.[250] Because of the island's position in an area of the Roman Empire that had been calmed and stabilised by Roman rule, the proconsul was not in charge of an army that was permanently stationed on the island.[251] This stands in great contrast to the Ptolemaic *strategos*, who was in charge of an army or fleet and close to the royal court. In contrast to the Roman officials who governed Cyprus from 58 BC until Augustus' re-organisation of the provinces, very little is known about most of the Roman proconsuls of Cyprus from 22 BC onwards with the exception of a few individuals.[252] For example, the office of Publius Pacquius Scaeva is significant regarding the organisation of Cyprus as he was recalled to govern Cyprus possibly four years after his first term in

[248] Strabo, *Geographica*, 14.6.6 c. 685; 17.3.25; Cassius Dio, 54.4.1.
[249] Potter (2000), 786.
[250] Mitford (1980a), 1305; Potter (2000), 789.
[251] Despite this, monuments do suggest the presence of the military or individuals associated with the army in Roman Cyprus at times and include: [A] A funerary monument from the Paphos region: *IGR* III 964; *I.Paphos*, no 161; [B] A funerary monument from Salamis: *CIL* 3.215; [C] A funerary monument from Salamis: *CIL* 3.12109; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 19; [D] An inscribed *gemma* presented in *I.Paphos*, 444-5, no. 279 supposedly belonged to an officer of the *Legio XV Apollinaris*. [E] An inscription which provides evidence for the presence of the *Cohors VII Brevicorum* stationed in the North Mesaoria at the foot of the Kyreneia mountain range: *CIL* 3.215; Mitford (1950b), 55. Cf. Potter (2000), 813.
[252] Mitford (1980a), 1305; Potter (2000), 789.

office.[253] He was presumably brought into the Senate by Augustus. His career is described in detail and reflects the flexibility in the awarding of office in the early Augustan period. At the Emperor's request, he was again dispatched by the Senate *extra sortem* as proconsul to Cyprus. Mitford argued that Scaeva's previous experience of overseeing the administration of Cyprus, at an important point in its history, together with his financial expertise, prompted the *Princeps* and Senate jointly to send him back to organise the finances of the island.[254] The commemoration of his role in the government of Cyprus is not attested in the Cypriot epigraphic record, but in Histonium and Rome.[255] His appointment perhaps signals that he was someone Augustus could trust to organise the affairs of the island.[256] Cyprus, it seems, was well governed from this point onwards by Rome.[257]

2.4. Re-evaluation of the evidence.

2.4.1. Mitford and Thomasson's list of Roman officials.

The list of Roman officials, compiled by Mitford, presented the data by dividing the evidence into two main sections; the first major section concerns evidence from the annexation of the island to the third century AD, and the second, smaller, section concerns the administration of the island from the later part of the third century AD.[258] Of relevance to this chapter are the phases of administration that Mitford outlined from 58 BC to the mid-

[253] Mitford (1980a), 1342-3.
[254] Mitford (1980a), 1299, footnote 47.
[255] *CIL* 9.2845; 2846; *ILS* 915; *CIL* 6.1483; 1484.
[256] Potter (2000), 785-6, cf. 791.
[257] Mitford (1980a), 1295, 1341-5; Michaelides (1990), 115.
[258] Mitford (1980a), 1291-1308 and 1375-80.

fourth century AD.[259] From the second list the data concerning the first two proconsuls whose titles changed from proconsul to that of *praeses*, will also be considered. These individuals are Antistius Sabinus, as *praeses*, between AD 293 and 305,[260] and Calocaerus, possibly as *praeses*, in AD 333.[261] These individuals will not be included in the list of proconsuls presented by this study.

Although Mitford listed fifty-nine proconsuls, on closer inspection the evidence itself does not firmly attest the existence of all of these named and unnamed individuals from this time period. For instance, Mitford stated that inscriptions and coins in fact record forty-eight proconsuls between 22 BC to AD 293.[262] According to Mitford, this was 'less than a sixth, admittedly, of their full total'.[263] Potter agreed that the known proconsuls of Cyprus are 15-20% of the known total. While it is not essential to know the exact figure of Roman representatives who passed through the island carrying out their duties, the corpus of inscriptions and numismatic evidence is plentiful and indicative of the responsibilities of the proconsul and his relationship with provincials.[264] Thomasson's study *Laterculi Praesidum* remains the most up to date compilation of information and the evidence for proconsuls and is presented in two sections: numbers one to thirty of Thomasson's study are proconsuls of senatorial and equestrian class, arranged in chronological order, whose dates in office can be securely verified; numbers thirty-one to fifty-six are proconsuls, in alphabetical order, whose

[259] Mitford (1980a), 1291-1308 and 1377.
[260] Mitford (1980a) 1377, proconsul no. 1.
[A] Salamis: *I.Salamis*, no. 39; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 152; [B] Salamis: *I.Salamis*, no. 40; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 156; [C] Salamis: *I.Salamis*, no. 129; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 151; [D] Salamis: *I.Salamis*, no. 130; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 154; [E] Salamis: *I.Salamis*, no. 131; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 155.
[261] Mitford (1980a) 1377, proconsul no. 2. Cf. Aurelius Victor, *Liber de Caesaribus*, 41.11.
[262] Mitford (1980a), 1299, proconsul nos. 8-59.
[263] Mitford (1980a), 1299.
[264] Potter (2000), 788.

dates in office and identities are otherwise unknown. This second section also includes a number of fragmentary inscriptions which do not name a proconsul.

The following individuals, originally named in Mitford's list, were omitted by Thomasson in his study, no doubt because of the fragmentary or limited nature of the evidence:

- **Q. Am - - Quinti - -**, 'In or shortly after 2 BC'.[265] [A] Grant (1969), 144. Cf. *RPC* Vol. I.I, 577 on the 'defective' reading of this individual as a proconsul.
- **L. Vitellius,** proconsul? 'around AD 30'.[266] Cf. *PIR*[1] V 500.
- **--- tensinus - - -** 'AD 212-217'.[267] [A] Salamis: Tubbs (1891), 178-9, no. 9; *CIL* 3.12105; Mitford (1950b), 52-3, no. 21; *AnnÉp* (1953), no. 169; ab *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 148. Cf. Corbier (1991), 655-701.
- **- - - Celsus - - -**, date unknown.[268] [A] Kition: *CIG* II 2645; *I.Kition*, no. 2059.
- **Unknown**, 'late-second or early-third century'.[269] [A] Salamis: *ICA* 7 (in *RDAC* 1968), 79, no. 13; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 249.

In turn, Potter correctly suggested that the following individuals be removed from Thomasson's list for the fragmentary nature of the evidence or the dubious way in which evidence had been originally restored by Mitford:[270]

- **Paullus Fabius Maximus.** There is no firm evidence to attest his proconsulship in Cyprus.[271]
- **[---]arius Rufus**.[272] 18/17 BC? *PIR*[1] T 14; V 193. [A] Palaipaphos: Hogarth, James, et al. (1888), 239, no. 49; *IGR* III 952; *I.Paphos*, no. 163. Since the publication of Thomasson's study, a monument naming an individual with the *cognomen* Rufus has been discovered at Nea Paphos which could be attributed to this individual. [B] Nea Paphos: *ICA* 36 (in *RDAC* 1997), 269-70 no. 2; *I.Paphos*, no. 245.
- **[- - - C]orne[lius - - -]** under Trajan?[273] Cf. Sextus Cornelius Tuchicus of *I.Kourion*, no. 124. [A] Kourion: *I.Kourion*, no. 168; Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1973b), 237.
- **--- Appian - - -?**, AD 200.[274] [A] Salamis: *I.Salamis*, no. 18; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 147.

[265] Mitford (1980a), 1300, proconsul no. 12.
[266] Mitford (1980a), 1305.
[267] Mitford (1980a), 1303, proconsul no. 47.
[268] Mitford (1980a), 1304, proconsul no. 50.
[269] Mitford (1980a), 1304, proconsul no. 56.
[270] Potter (2000), 788.
[271] Listed as Thomasson (1984), 295, no. 1. Cf. Potter (2000), 788; Fujii (2013), 151, footnote 83.
[272] Mitford (1980a), 1300, proconsul no 11; Thomasson (1984), 300, no. 44.
[273] Mitford (1980a), 1302, proconsul no. 34; Thomasson (1984), 298, no. 22.

- **Publicola Priscus**.[275] *PIR*[1] P 59. [A] Kourion: *I.Kourion*, no. 89; Robert (1948), 108-9; Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1973b), 226-7. The identification of the individual named in this monument as L. Valerio Helvidio Prisco Poblicola (cf. *PIR*[1] V 59) by Mitford dates the monument to the end of the second century to the third century AD. Robert's analysis of this epigram more securely dates the monument, and the office of the individual named, to the end of the third century AD and so contradicts Mitford's interpretation. For this reason, it is not possible to securely identify this individual. Nevertheless, Mitford's suggestion that the full name of the individual is not included on the monument, in order to fit the meter of the epigram, should not be disregarded and it could still be possible that the individual named in the monument was an outsider, if not a Roman proconsul, perhaps a high ranking official.

As mentioned above, Potter also suggested that **L. Coelius Tarphinus**, named above as **L. Coelius Pamphilius** be removed from the list.[276] Additionally, number 55 of Thomasson's list has been omitted from this study.

2.4.2. The revised list of Roman proconsuls.

The following list presents the evidence for Roman proconsuls of Cyprus from 30 BC to the mid-fourth century AD. The arrangement of the data is based on Thomasson's study and considers all of the evidence originally presented by Mitford, the evidence presented by Thomasson, and corrections suggested by Potter. The name of the proconsul, and if relevant reference to a *PIR* number, their date in office, and evidence of literary, numismatic, and epigraphic evidence for their term in office in Roman Cyprus. The find spots of the inscriptions are also provided. For the sake of brevity, this chapter will not cite full references of the surviving primary evidence. If required, a short discussion of the proconsul and the available evidence will follow the evidence given for the individual in question. The

[274] Mitford (1980a), 1303, proconsul no. 44; Thomasson (1984), 298, no. 27.
[275] Mitford (1980a), 1303, proconsul no. 49; Thomasson (1984), 300, no. 43. Cf. This study, chapter four, section **4.3.3.2**. **Kourion Inscription** (*I.Kourion*, no. 89).
[276] Cf. This chapter, section **2.3.1**.

inclusion of new evidence is also presented in this chapter and includes **L(ucius) Mar[---]** (proconsul number 7, listed below); **L. Bruttius Maximus** (proconsul number 16, monument [B] listed below); **Creperius** (proconsul number 34, listed below); and **Unknown, possibly Ulpius?** (proconsul number 55, listed below).

Roman proconsuls from 22 BC:

1. ? - **A**, 9 BC.[277] [A] Salamis: Tubbs (1891), 178, no. 8; *IGR* III 992; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 100.
2. **A. Plautius,** Mitford (1980a) and *RPC* Vol. I.I. nos. 3906 and 3907: in or after 21 BC; Thomasson (1984): Under Augustus; Parks (2004): AD 1/2.[278] *PIR*^{2} P 455. [A] Hill (1964), 73, nos. 2-4; Grant (1969), 143; Parks (2004), 39-43, nos. 2a, 2b.
3. **P. Paquius Scaeva**, Mitford (1980a): 22/21 BC and then 'at least four years after his first term of office'; Thomasson (1984): under Augustus (15/14 BC?).[279] *PIR*^{2} P 126. [A] Histonium: *CIL* 9.2845; 2846; *ILS* 915. Cf. *CIL* 6.1483; 1484.
4. **C. Ummidius Durmius Quadratus**, Mitford (1980a): *'Praetor aerarii* in AD 18 and proconsul shortly thereafter'.[280] Thomasson (1984): AD 22-35. *PIR*^{1} V 600. [A] Casinum: *CIL* 10.5182; *ILS* 972.
5. **L. Axius Naso**, Mitford (1980a) and Thomasson (1984): AD 29/30.[281] *PIR*^{2} A 1691. [A] Lapethus: *LBW* III 2773; *IGR* III 933; *OGIS* II 583; Fujii (2013) Lapethus no. 2.
6. **C. Lucretius Rufus**, Mitford (1980a): AD 14?; Thomasson (1984): under Tiberius.[282] *PIR*^{2} L 411. [A] Salamis: *CIL* 3.12104; Mitford (1950b), 52, footnote 2, no. 20; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 132; Fujii (2013) Salamis no. 4.
7. **L(ucius) Mar[---]**, possibly L(ucius) Mar[cius Hortalus], under Tiberius.[283] [A] Salamis: *SEG* 30.1645; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 133; *AnnÉp* (1989), no. 736. Cf. Corbier (1991), 679–83; *AnnÉp* (1991), no. 1571; *SEG* 41.1480; Fujii (2013) Salamis no. 5.
8. **M. Firmius Secu[ndus]**, under Caligula.[284] [A] Palaipaphos: Mitford (1950b), 56, no. 30. The text of this inscription is completely erased but is visible on the side of Hogarth, James, et al. (1888), no. 35, but does not feature in their study of the inscriptions discovered at the sanctuary. According to Mitford, the name M. Firmius

[277] Mitford (1980a), 1304, proconsul no. 57; Thomasson (1984), 295, no. 2.
[278] Mitford (1980a), 1299, proconsul no. 9; Thomasson (1984), 295, no. 3.
[279] Mitford (1980a), 1299, proconsul no. 8 and 10; Thomasson (1984), 295, no. 4.
[280] Mitford (1980a), 1300, proconsul no. 16; Thomasson (1984), 295, no. 5.
[281] Mitford (1980a), 1300, proconsul no. 17; Thomasson (1984), 295, no. 6.
[282] Mitford (1980a), 1300 and footnote 53, proconsul no. 15; Thomasson (1984), 296, no. 7.
[283] Cf. Corbier (1991), 655-701.
[284] Thomasson (1984), 296, no. 8.

Secundus is visible but there are no further traces of this individual; while the *nomen* is rare a Firmius Catus is attested under Tiberius.[285]

9. **T. Cominius Proculus**, Mitford (1980a) and Thomasson (1984): AD 43/44.[286] *PIR*^{2} C 1270. [A] Hill (1964), 76, no. 16; Parks (2004), 69-73, no. 11b. [B] Kyreneia: Seyrig (1927), 153-4, no. 11; *SEG* 6.834; *AnnÉp* (1928), no. 63; Mitford (1950b), 17, no. 9.
10. **Sergius Paullus**, Mitford (1980a): between AD 37- 41; Thomasson (1984): between AD 46-48.[287] *PIR*^{1} S 376. [A] *Acts of the Apostles*, 13.7. Cf. the following monuments: [B] Chytroi: *IGR* III 935; Myres, (1914), 319, 548, no. 1903; *SEG* 20.302. The restoration of this text by *SEG* suggests that he was proconsul. [C] Salamis: *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 105.
11. **T. Clodius Eprius Marcellus**, Mitford (1980a): AD 58/9; Thomasson (1984): AD 58-61.[288] *I.Paphos*, 399-400: between AD 57-62. *PIR*^{2} E 84. [A] Nea Paphos: Mitford (1958), no. 1; *I.Paphos*, no. 238. [B] Near Capua: *CIL* 10.3853; *ILS* 992.
12. **Q. Iulius Cordus**, Mitford (1980a) and Thomasson (1984): AD 64/65 (or 65/66?).[289] *PIR*^{2} I 272. [A] Kition: *CIG* II 2631; *IGR* III 978; *I.Kition*, no. 2036. [B] Kourion: *CIG* II 2632; *IGR* III 971; *I.Kourion*, no. 84; Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1973b), 220-3; Fujii (2013) Kourion no. 2. [C] Kourion: *I.Kourion*, no.107; Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1973b), 230-1.
13. **L. Annius Bassus**, Mitford (1980a) and Thomasson (1984): AD 65/66 (or 66/67).[290] *PIR*^{2} A 637. [A] Kourion: *CIG* II 2632; *IGR* III 971; *I.Kourion*, no. 84; Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1973b), 220-3; Fujii (2013) Kourion no. 2.
14. **Milionius?** Mitford (1980a) and Thomasson (1984): under Nero.[291] [A] Near Soloi: Mitford (1950b), 28-31, no. 15; *AnnÉp* (1953), no. 166; Christol (1986), 1-5.
15. **[- - -]tesinus?**, Mitford (1980a) and Thomasson (1984): under Titus?; Corbier (1991), *I.Paphos* and Fujii (2013): under Tiberius?[292] [A] Palaipaphos: Hogarth, James, et al. (1888), 251, no. 107b; *IGR* III 944; Mitford (1947), 208, no. 3; Corbier (1991), 674-87; *I.Paphos*, no. 150; Fujii (2013) Paphos Vetus no. 12.
16. **L. Bruttius Maximus**, Mitford (1980a) and Fujii (2013): AD 79/80; Thomasson (1984): AD 80/81.[293] [A] Amathous: Mitford (1946), 40-2, no. 16; Aupert and Hermary (2006), 88, B; *AnnÉp* (2006), no. 1563; *SEG* 56.1823; Kantiréa (2008), 97; Fujii (2013) Amathous no. 3. [B] Amathous: Aupert and Hermary (2006), 88, A; *AnnÉp* (2006), no. 1562; *SEG* 56.1822; Fujii (2013) Amathous no. 2.

[285] Mitford (1950b), 57: cf. Tacitus, *Annales*, 4.31.
[286] Mitford (1980a), 1300, proconsul no. 19; Thomasson (1984), 296, no. 9.
[287] Mitford (1980a), 1300, proconsul number 18; cf. also number 20; Thomasson (1984), 296, no. 10.
[288] Mitford (1980a), 1301, proconsul no. 21; Thomasson (1984), 296, no. 11.
[289] Mitford (1980a), 1301, proconsul no. 22; Thomasson (1984), 296, no. 12.
[290] Mitford (1980a), 1301, proconsul no. 23; Thomasson (1984), 297, no. 13.
[291] Mitford (1980a), 1301, proconsul no. 24; Thomasson (1984), 297, no. 14.
[292] Mitford (1980a), 1301, proconsul no. 27; Thomasson (1984), 297, no. 15.
[293] Mitford (1980a), 1302, proconsul no. 28; Thomasson (1984), 297, no. 16.

17. **L. Plotius P - - - -**, Mitford (1980a): AD 80/81; Thomasson (1984): AD 81/82.[294] *PIR*^{2} P 511. [A] Milestone, Unknown: Mitford (1950b), 85, no. 46; Bekker-Nielsen (2004), 275, no. 29. [B] Milestone, Salamis: *CIL* 3.6732; Mitford (1939b), 188-9; Mitford (1950b), 86-7, no. 46; Bekker-Nielsen (2004), 252-4, no. 15. Mitford (1950b) and *PIR*^{2} P 511 suggested the full name of this individual could be L. Plotius P[ulcher], though Thomasson was doubtful about this suggestion.
18. **Q. Laberius Iustus Cocceius Lepidus**, Mitford (1980a) and Thomasson (1984): AD 100/101.[295] *PIR*^{2} L 7. [A] Kourion:[296] *I.Kourion*, no. 118; Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1973b), 231-2; Fujii (2013) Kourion no. 5. [B] Rome: *CIL* 6.1440.
19. **Q. Caelius Honoratus**, Mitford (1980a): AD 101/102; Thomasson (1984): between AD 101-104.[297] *PIR*^{2} C 1244. [A] Kourion: *LBW* III 2814; *IGR* III 970; *I.Kourion*, no. 86; Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1973b), 224-6. [B] Kourion: *I.Kourion*, no. 109; *AnnÉp* (1975), no. 836. [C] Kourion: *I.Kourion*, no.110; *AnnÉp* (1975), no. 836.
20. **Q. Seppius Celer M. Titius Sassius Candidus**, Mitford (1980a) and Thomasson (1984): AD 113/114.[298] [A] Kourion: *I.Kourion*, no. 87; Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1973b), 226; Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1974), 188, no. 3; *AnnÉp* (1975) no. 821. [B] Kourion: *I.Kourion*, no. 111; Fujii (2013) Kourion no. 11. [C] Salamis: *I.Salamis*, no. 23; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 123.
21. **[- - -]gius Pate[rnus?]**, Mitford (1980a): AD 113/114; Thomasson (1984): AD 116/117.[299] [A] Salamis: *I.Salamis*, no. 12; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 38. It must be noted that while this individual is included in Thomasson's list, the inscription is very fragmentary and the title ἀνθυ][πάτου(?) is entirely restored. *I.Salamis*, 28, footnote 5: suggests that individual could be the son of P. Valerius Patruinus (cf. *PIR*^{1} V 103).
22. **C. Calpurnius Flaccus**, Mitford (1980a) and Fujii (2013): AD 122/123; Thomasson (1984): AD 123.[300] *PIR*^{2} C 268; F 171. [A] Salamis: *CIG* 2638; *IGR* III 991; *I.Salamis*, no. 92 a; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 125. [B] Salamis: *SEG* 23.609; *I.Salamis*, no. 92; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 140; Kantiréa (2008), 103, no. 84; Fujii (2013) Salamis no. 16.

[294] Mitford (1980a), 1302 and footnote 59, proconsul no. 29; Thomasson (1984), 297, no. 17.
[295] Mitford (1980a), 1302, proconsul no. 30; Thomasson (1984), 297, no. 18.
[296] It is unclear why the references for this monument are repeated in Thomasson's list: an individual labelled as 'unknown' is cited on page 302, no. 55. This inscription does not refer to another individual who could possibly be interpreted as an 'unknown' governor or Roman administrator.
[297] Mitford (1980a), 1302, proconsul no. 31; Thomasson (1984), 297, no. 19.
[298] Mitford (1980a), 1302, proconsul no. 32; Thomasson (1984), 297, no. 20. On the date of his proconsulship cf. Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1974), 193.
[299] Mitford (1980a), 1302, proconsul no. 33; Thomasson (1984), 298, no. 21.
[300] Mitford (1980a), 1302, proconsul no. 35; Thomasson (1984), 298, no. 23.

23. **[Ti.?] Claudius Subatia[nus Proculus ?]**, Mitford (1980a) and Thomasson (1984): AD 197/198.[301] *PIR*^{2} S 682. [A] Milestone, near Paphos: Mitford (1966), 89, no. 1; *AnnÉp* (1966), no. 488; Bekker-Nielsen (2004), 261-3, no. 21.
24. **Audius Bassus**, Mitford (1980a) and Thomasson (1984): AD 198/199.[302] *PIR*^{2} A 1376. [A] Milestone, Paphos to Arsinoe: Mitford (1939b), 193-4, no. 5; Mitford (1980a), 1334, no. 10; *I.Paphos*, no. 301; Bekker-Nielsen (2004), 236-7. [B] Milestone, near Soloi: Mitford (1939b), 184-9, no. 1; *AnnÉp* (1940), no. 103; Mitford (1950b), 60, no. 2; Mitford (1950a), 144; Mitford (1980a), 1334, no. 1; Bekker-Nielsen (2004), 247-50. [C] Milestone, Paphos to Kourion: *LBW* III 2806; *CIL* 3.218; *ILS* 422; *IGR* III 967; *I.Paphos*, no. 307; Bekker-Nielsen (2004), 266-8, no. 24. [D] Milestone, Paphos to Kourion: Mitford (1939b), 194-6, no. 6; Mitford (1980a), 1334, no. 15; *I.Paphos*, no. 306; Bekker-Nielsen (2004), 270-2, no. 26. [E] Milestone, Nea Paphos: Mitford (1950b), 59, no. 32; Mitford (1966), 99; Mitford (1980a), 1334, no. 14; *I.Paphos*, no. 305; Bekker-Nielsen (2004), 273-4, no. 27.
25. **Iulius Fronto Tlepolemus**, Mitford (1980a) and Thomasson (1984): AD 210/211.[303] *PIR*^{2} F 328. [A] Nea Paphos: *SEG* 6.810; *I.Paphos*, no. 232; Fujii (2013) Paphos Nova no. 5.
26. **T. Caesernius Stati[a]nu[s? Quinc]tianus**, Mitford (1980a): AD 212?; Thomasson (1984) and Fujii (2013): under Caracalla.[304] *PIR*^{2} C 180. [A] Palaipaphos: Hogarth, James, et al. (1888), 252, no. 111; *SEG* 6.811; *IGR* III 947; *I.Paphos*, no. 156; Fujii (2013) Paphos Vetus no. 17.
27. **C. Iulius Avitus Alexianus**, Thomasson (1984): AD 217.[305] *PIR*^{2} I 190; 192. [A] Cassius Dio, 79.30.2-4.
28. **Ti. Claudius Attalus Paterclianus**, Mitford (1980a): AD 218/219; Thomasson (1984): AD 217/218 (or 217/219?).[306] *PIR*^{2} C 795. [A] Milestone, near Vouni: Mitford (1939b), 190, no. 2; Mitford (1947), 230, no. 15; Bekker-Nielsen (2004), 246-7, no. 12.

Roman proconsuls of uncertain date or otherwise unknown:

29. **P. Cassius Longinus**, Mitford (1980a): early second century AD?; Thomasson (1984): under Trajan or Hadrian?[307] [A] Kourion: *I.Kourion*, no. 88.
30. **Ti. Claudius Flavianus Titianus Q. Vilius Proculus L. Marcius Celer M. Calpurnius Longus**, Mitford (1980a): Antonine; Thomasson (1984): Hadrianic or Antonine?[308] *PIR*^{2} C 696. [A] Salamis: *IGR* III 667; *ILS* 8835; *I.Salamis*, no. 24.

[301] Mitford (1980a), 1303, proconsul no. 42; Thomasson (1984), 298, no. 24. For Ti. Claudius Subatianus Proculus.
[302] Mitford (1980a), 1303, proconsul no. 43; Thomasson (1984), 298, no. 25.
[303] Mitford (1980a), 1303, proconsul no. 45; Thomasson (1984), 298, no. 26.
[304] Mitford (1980a), 1303, proconsul no. 46; Thomasson (1984), 299, no. 28.
[305] Thomasson (1984), 299, no. 29.
[306] Mitford (1980a), 1304, proconsul no. 52; Thomasson (1984), 299, no. 30.
[307] Mitford (1980a), 1303, proconsul no. 37; Thomasson (1984), 299, no. 31.

31. **Ti. Claudius Iuncus**, Mitford (1980a): mid second century AD; Thomasson (1984): unknown date.[309] *PIR*^{2} C 904. [A] Kition: *LBW* III 2726; *IGR* III 979; *OGIS* II 584; *I.Kition*, no. 2061. Mitford (1980a), 1303 suggests that this proconsul was in Cyprus during the mid second century AD.
32. **Sextus Clodius [- - -]nianus**, Mitford (1980a): late Severan; Thomasson (1984): under Septimius Severus to Caracalla.[310] *PIR*^{2} C 1155. [A] Kition: *LBW* III 2728; *IGR* III 977; *I.Kition*, no. 2035; Fujii (2013) Kition no. 11.
33. **Claudius Leonticus**, Mitford (1980a) and Thomasson (1984): mid third century AD?[311] *PIR*^{2} C 892. [A] Lapethus: Mitford (1950a), 136, no. 10; *AnnÉp* (1952), no. 175.
34. **Creperius**, second century AD. [A] Amathous: Le Glay (1986), 27-34; Marcillet-Jaubert (1987), 33-4; Hermary (1988/2), 102, no. 5.
35. **A. Didius Postumus**, Mitford (1980a): 'Early imperial, perhaps Augustan'; Thomasson (1984): early empire.[312] *PIR*^{2} D 72. [A] Cos: *AnnÉp* (1934) no. 86; Sherwin-White (1975), 183. Cf. also [B] Tegea: *CIL* III 7247; *ILS* 970.
36. **L. Gabo Arunculeius P. Acilius Severus**, Mitford (1980a): Antonine; Thomasson (1984): Not before Marcus Aurelius.[313] *PIR*^{2} G 12. [A] Brixia: *CIL* 5.4333.
37. **Bassidius Lauricius**, around AD 358.[314] *PIR*^{2} L 133. [A] Nea Paphos: Mitford (1961a), 101, no.5; *I.Paphos*, no. 244. For the new identification of this proconsul and his date in office cf. Cayla (1997) and *I.Paphos*, no. 244.
38. **Paullus**, Mitford (1980a): AD 126? Thomasson (1984): unknown date?[315] *PIR*^{2} S 376. [A] Soloi: *IGR* III 930; Mitford (1947), 201, no. 1. Cf. proconsul number 10 listed above.
39. **D. Plautius Felix Iulianus**, Mitford (1980a) and Thomasson (1984): under Septimius Severus? (AD 196/197)[316] *PIR*^{2} P 464.
    [A] Palaipaphos: Hogarth, James, et al. (1888), 248, no. 97; *IGR* III 954 and Hogarth, James, et al. (1888), 253, no. 114; I*GR* III 955. All fragments were joined together in Mitford (1947), 216-7, no. 6; *I.Paphos*, no. 167.
    [B] Palaipaphos: Hogarth, James, et al. (1888), 249, no. 104a; *IGR* III 956; *I.Paphos*, no. 168.
    [C] Kourion: *I.Kourion*, no. 90; Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1973b), 227-8.
    Cf. also [D] Nea Paphos: Mitford (1961a), 103-5, no. 7; *SEG* 20.255; *I.Paphos*, no. 240.

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[308] Mitford (1980a), 1303, proconsul no. 40; Thomasson (1984), 299, no. 32.
[309] Mitford (1980a), 1303, proconsul no. 38; Thomasson (1984), 299, no. 33.
[310] Mitford (1980a), 1303, proconsul no. 48; Thomasson (1984), 299, no. 34.
[311] Mitford (1980a), 1304, proconsul no. 53; Thomasson (1984), 299, no. 35.
[312] Mitford (1980a), 1300, proconsul no 14; Thomasson (1984), 300, no. 37.
[313] Mitford (1980a), 1303, proconsul no. 39; Thomasson (1984), 300, no. 38.
[314] Mitford (1980a), 1304, proconsul no 51; Thomassn (1984), 300, no. 39. This proconsul was identified as Lauricius Vo[…] by both Mitford and Thomasson.
[315] Mitford (1980a), 1302, proconsul no. 36; Thomasson (1984), 300, no. 40.
[316] Mitford (1980a), 1303, proconsul no. 41; Thomasson (1984), 300, no. 41.

40. **L. Pontius**, Mitford (1980a): late Neronian; Thomasson (1984): late first century AD?[317] *PIR*^{2} P 793; 794. [A] Nea Paphos: Mitford (1958), 6-8, no. 2; *SEG* 18.588; *I.Paphos*, no. 237.
41. **Theodorus**, Mitford (1980a): late-third century AD; Thomasson (1984): Post Diocletian?[318] [A] Amathous: *PSBA* (1890-1), no. 4; Audollent (1904), no. 25; *I.Kourion*, no. 130; Cf. Wilburn (2012), 192, 210-1.
42. **[---] Varus**, unknown date?[319] [A] Rome: *EE* IX 900; *Inscr.It.* IV: 1^2, 132.
43. **M. Vehilius**, Mitford (1980a): between 42-39 BC; Thomasson (1984): early imperial period?[320] Mitford correctly identified this proconsul as a certain M. Vehilius, not M. Ofillius or Uphilius as had previously been suggested.[321] [A] Nea Paphos: Seyrig (1927), 143, no. 4; *AnnÉp* (1928), no. 62; Mitford (1958), 8; *I.Paphos*, no. 242.
44. **M. Verg(ilius?)**, Mitford (1980a) and Thomasson (1984): under Augustus?[322] *PIR*^{1} V 272. [A] Coin in possession of Borghesi cited in Mitford (1980a), 1300. *RPC* Vol. I.I, 577 suggested that this was a misread coin or a forgery.
45. **L. Vehilius**, Mitford (1980a) and Thomasson (1984): Neronian:[323] [A] Nea Paphos: Mitford (1950b), 28-31, no. 15; Christol (1986), 6-14; *I.Paphos*, no. 236. This individual was listed as L. Vilius listed in Thomasson's list.
46. **Unknown**, Mitford (1980a): between 30-22 BC.[324] [A] Salamis: *CIL* 3.12106.
47. **Unknown**, Thomasson (1984): date unknown?[325] [A] Clusium: *CIL* 11.7114.
48. **Unknown**, Mitford (1980a): date unknown; Thomasson (1984): not before Marcus Aurelius?[326] [A] Suessula: *CIL* 10.3761.
49. **Unknown**, Mitford (1980a): 'early third century lettering'?[327] [A] Soloi: *SEG* 30.1567; cf. *SEG* 30.1657. While this fragment is omitted from Thomasson's study, the word ἀνθυπά[του - - - -] can be detected.
50. **Unknown**, Thomasson (1984): date unknown?[328] [A] Tibur: *CIL* 14.4248.
51. **Unknown**, Thomasson (1984): date unknown?[329] [A] Rome: *CIL* 6.1561.
52. **Unknown**, Mitford (1980a): first century AD or BC; Thomasson (1984): date unknown?[330] *I.Paphos*: suggests a date around the end of the first century BC. [A] Palaipaphos: Hogarth, James, et al. (1888), 247, no. 91; *IGR* III 957. *I.Paphos*, no. 164.

[317] Mitford (1980a), 1301, proconsul no. 26; Thomasson (1984), 300, no. 42.
[318] Mitford (1980a), 1304, proconsul no. 54; Thomasson (1984), 300, no. 45.
[319] Thomasson (1984), 300, no. 46.
[320] Mitford (1980a), 1294, proconsul no. 6; Thomasson (1984), 301, no. 47.
[321] Mitford (1980a), 1294, and footnotes 24 and 26. Cf. Rüpke (2005), 945.
[322] Mitford (1980a), 1300 and footnote 51, proconsul no. 13; Thomasson (1984), 301, no. 48.
[323] Mitford (1980a), 1301, proconsul no. 25; Thomasson (1984), 301, no. 49.
[324] Mitford (1980a), 1295, proconsul no. 7.
[325] Thomasson (1984), 302, no. 50.
[326] Mitford (1980a), 1305, proconsul no. 58; Thomasson (1984), 302, no. 51. Cf. *PIR*^{1} III, 500, no. 41.
[327] Mitford (1980a), 1305, proconsul no. 59.
[328] Thomasson (1984), 302, no. 52.
[329] Thomasson (1984), 302, no. 53.
[330] Mitford (1980a), 1304, proconsul no. 55; Thomasson (1984), 302, no. 54.

53. **Unknown**, Thomasson (1984): date unknown?[331] [A] Soloi: listed as 'unpublished' in Mitford (1980a), 1305, no. 59.
54. **Unknown**, date unknown? [A] Milestone, south of Paramali: *CIL* 3.219; *LBW* III 2807; *IGR* III 968; Mitford (1939b), 197; Mitford (1947), 217, no. 7; Mitford (1966), 93; Mitford (1980a), 1334, no. 21; 1338 erroneously identified as mile 8; Bekker-Nielsen (2004), 258-60, no. 20.
55. **Ulpius?**, After AD 212; probably mid third century AD. [A] Ancyra: Mitchell (1977), 70, no. 5; *BE* (1978), 484-5, no. 488; *SEG* 27.845; *AnnÉp* (1981), no. 781; Mitchell and French (2012), 204, no. 50.

2.4.3. The available evidence for study of the proconsuls.

The evidence for proconsuls, presented above, reveals the variety of evidence that records their activities in Cyprus. While it has already been noted that literary sources are crucial for our understanding of the early phases of Roman administration in Cyprus, ancient literature remains significant as evidence for the activities of some proconsuls on the island after 30 BC.[332] As few as two proconsuls were named in the coinage minted in Cyprus.[333] The majority of the evidence comes from the epigraphic record which is inclusive of honorific statue bases, building and funerary monuments, milestones, and a curse tablet. Although first published in 1890, the *defixiones* of Cyprus, discovered near Amathous, have been, until recently, overlooked as evidence for the study of Roman officials on the island and their interactions with locals.[334] The collection of *defixiones* from Amathous has been dated to late second to the third century AD and is one of the largest hoards discovered from the Roman Empire.[335] More than two hundred tablets on lead, and an additional thirty sheets of selenite, were discovered in a well, or common grave, in Agios Tychonas, an area close to

[331] Thomasson (1984), 302, no. 56.
[332] For example, this study, proconsuls nos. 10, 27, and 28.
[333] For example, this study, proconsuls nos. 3 [A] and 9 [A].
[334] Key reading for the curse tablets of Amathous remains: *PSBA* (1890-1), 160-90; Audollent (1904); *I.Kourion*, nos 127-142; Drew-Bear (1972); Aupert and Jordan (1981); Aupert and Jordan (1994); Jordan (1985); Wilburn (2012), chapter four. For general reading on judicial curse tablets cf. Gager (1992); Faraone (1991); Versnel (1991).
[335] Wilburn (2012), 172.

Amathous thought to have been used as a necropolis in the Roman period.[336] The sixteen lead and six selenite *defixiones* published to date relate to judicial cases concering the community of Amathous; it has been shown that the texts are formulaic in their composition, relating to three prototypes, and usually include the names of those who employed the services of a *magus*, a magician, and the details of the victims.[337] The *magus* would have inscribed the tablet or possibly selected one from a pile of pre-inscribed sheets, filling in the client's name, the names of the opponents and sometimes providing a few details relating to the case. The production of the tablets appears vast at Amathous and Andrew Wilburn has recently suggested several suggestions about the identity of the professional *magoi* who produced these tablets.[338] Of interest to this chapter is the curse tablet which names a proconsul of Cyprus, a certain Theodorus.[339] Not only does this evidence provide us with confirmation of the proconsul of Cyprus overseeing matters of a judicial nature, which to date has only been suggested through comparative literary evidence, it is also the only evidence of sources of tensions between the community of Amathous and its administrators.[340] It is irrelevant whether the person cursing the proconsul is innocent or not; the proconsul's appearance in the text of a curse tablet demonstrates that while the honorific nature of public and monumental inscriptions present a positive relationship between the proconsul and the cities of Cyprus, their organisations and local elites, other forms of written evidence, particularly from the private sphere, could reveal negative interactions. The powerful incantations to tie up the physical and mental faculties of the targets, to prevent them from pursuing their case successfully in court, are also a typical feature of the Cypriot *defixiones* and it is here that the

[336] Wilburn (2012), 183, 187.
[337] Gager (1992), 133; Wilburn (2012), 187
[338] Gager (1992), 133-4; Wilburn (2012), 200-9: this will be discussed in more detail in chapter four of this study.
[339] *I.Kourion*, no. 130.
[340] Wilburn (2012), 173, 210-2.

proconsul is named.[341] The document is very fragmentary and only twenty lines long; the proconsul, Theodorus, is named as τὸ[ν ἡγεμόνα], τῷ ἡγε[μόνι, and ὁ [ἡγ(εμ)]ὼν in lines eight, thirteen, and nineteen respectively.[342] While this appears to be the only instance in which the title of *hegemon* is used to name a proconsul in Cyprus, it is not an unusual title, however and is attested in other provinces.[343] Another curse tablet named a Theodorus, but it is not clear whether he is the same Theodorus named as proconsul.[344] It is possible that with the eventual publication of the remaining tablets, the *defixiones* of Amathous could provide us with further evidence of tension between communities in Cyprus and Roman officials.

2.4.4. Where monuments were set up, by whom and why.

Monuments naming proconsuls have been discovered in the *poleis* of Roman Cyprus, in the major, and also more obscure, sanctuaries and religious sites across the island. Milestones naming the proconsuls have also been discovered, which means that the identity and profile of Roman officials also made an impact on the roads of the island.[345] Not only do the find spots of these inscriptions signify the visual impact that the proconsul would have made on highly populated areas of the island, but the variety of monuments discovered provides ample evidence for understanding the role of the proconsul in Cyprus and also his relationship with the *poleis* as well as local inhabitants.

[341] *I.Kourion*, no. 127, 5-9: 127, 37-19: *I.Kourion*, no. 128, 11: *I.Kourion*, no. 129, 1-2: 21-24: 30-31: *I.Kourion*, no. 131, 5-6: 26-27: *I.Kourion*, no. 133, 5-6: *I.Kourion*, no. 134, 4-5: 24-25: *I.Kourion*, no. 135, 6: 30-31: *I.Kourion*, no. 136, 5-6: 24-25: *I.Kourion*, no. 137, 5-6: 25: *I.Kourion*, no. 138, 5-6: 29-30: *I.Kourion*, no. 139, 5-6: 28-29: *I.Kourion*, no. 140, 4-5: 24-25: *I.Kourion*, no. 141, 4: *I.Kourion*, no. 142, 3-5: 25-26.
[342] *I.Kourion*, no. 130. It is worth noting that in line 8 his title is completely restored, but in lines 13 and 19 the title is fragmentary.
[343] *I.Kourion*, 254-5; Wilburn (2012), 210.
[344] *I.Kourion*, no. 131.
[345] This study, proconsuls nos. 17 [B], 23 [A], 24 [A-E], 28 [A], 54 [A].

Many monuments naming proconsuls have been discovered in, and around, the *poleis* of Roman Cyprus, at Nea Paphos;[346] Salamis;[347] Kyreneia;[348] Kourion;[349] Kition;[350] Soloi;[351] Chytroi;[352] and Lapethus.[353] Within these *poleis*, proconsuls are recorded as fulfilling a variety of official duties, such as overseeing the construction and repair of buildings;[354] overseeing statues and monuments set up for the Roman Emperor by individual *poleis* or by the *demos* and *boule* of a *polis*.[355]

Statue bases and plaques also indicate that some proconsuls were commemorated in important hubs of the *poleis*.[356] Monuments erected by the cities,[357] *demos* and *boule*,[358] and other collective groups, like the *koinon* of Cyprus[359] and the *cives Romani*,[360] illustrate the official relationship that a proconsul might form within the *poleis* during his time in office. Very few proconsuls are honoured by individuals: T. Clodius Eprius Marcellus (proconsul number 11 above) is honoured by a certain Aristokles, son of Aristokles; and Titus Claudius Iunctus (proconsul number 31 above) was honoured by a Philodorus for an 'act of magnificence'; and Paullus (proconsul number 38 above) is named in an inscription which commemorates the construction of an enclosure, a tomb, built by an Apollonius for his parents, himself and for his children, conforming to his parents' wishes. The monument to T. Clodius Eprius Marcellus is particularly noteworthy because a monument for this proconsul

[346] This study, proconsuls nos. 11 [A], 25 [A], 37 [A], 39 [D], 40 [A], 43 [A].
[347] This study, proconsuls nos. 2 [A], 6 [A], 20 [C], 21 [A], 22 [A-B], 30 [A], cf. 10 [C] and Antistius Sabinus with five monuments.
[348] This study, proconsul no. 9 [B].
[349] This study, proconsuls nos. 12 [B-C], 29 [A], 39 [C].
[350] This study, proconsuls nos.12 [A], 31 [A], 32 [A].
[351] This study, proconsuls nos. 14 [A], 38 [A], 49 [A], 53 [A].
[352] This study, proconsuls no. 10 B.
[353] This study, proconsuls nos. 5 [A], 33 [A].
[354] For example, this study, proconsuls nos. 9 [B], 12 [B], 14 [A], 21 [A], 33 [A], 37 [A].
[355] For example, this study, proconsuls nos. 6 [A], 22 [A, B], 25 [A], 32 [A].
[356] For example, this study, proconsul no. 29 [A]: although it is unclear who set up this monument.
[357] For example, this study, proconsuls nos. 12 [A], 39 [C]
[358] For example, this study, proconsul no. 20 [A], 39 [A].
[359] For example, this study, proconsuls nos. 40 [A] and 45 [A].
[360] For example, this study, proconsul no. 45 [A].

was set up in his home town of Capua by the *koinon* of Cyprus, perhaps suggesting the fostering of positive dialogue between provincial community and a particular Roman official.[361]

Nea Paphos Inscription (*I.Paphos*, no. 238):[362]

[. . .]οὐ ιϛ' (?)
[Τίτῳ Κλωδίῳ Ἐπρίῳ] Μαρκέλλῳ, [- - - - - - - - - -],
[- - - - - -, πρεσβ]ευτῇ λεγιῶνος τε[τάρτης Σκυθικῆς ?]
[Τιβερίου Κλαυδ]ίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ, Γ[ερμανικοῦ],
[στρατ]ήγῳ Λυκίας Τ<ι>βερίου Κλαυδ[ίου Καίσαρος Γερ]– 5.
[μανι]κοῦ καὶ Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου Κα[ίσαρος Γερ]–
[μανι]κοῦ, ἀνθυπάτῳ Κύπρου, Ἀριστοκ [- - -]
[Ἀρισ]τοκ<λ>έους τιμῆς χάριν.

Stemma:

Line 1: [Ἀπόλλ]ωνι [Ὑλάτηι]·? Mitford || Line 2: [Τίτῳ Κλωδίῳ Ἐπρίῳ] Μαρκέλλῳ, [ταμίᾳ, δημάρχῳ], Mitford || Line 2-3: [καταλεγέντι εἰς τοὺς δημαρχικοὺς | στρατηγῷ πρεσβ]ευτῇ or [στρατηγῷ ἐπὶ | τῶν ξένων πρεσβ]ευτῇ Bradley || Line 3: [στρατηγῷ, πρεσβ]ευτῇ λεγιῶνος τε[σσαρακαιδεκάτης] Mitford; τε[τάρτης Σκυθικῆς] Bradley (τε[τάρτης] or τε[τάρτης Μακεδονικῆς] || Line 4: [Γεμίνης? Γα]ΐου? Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ, π[ρεσβευτῇ ἀντι]- Mitford; [Γεμίνης(?) Κλαυδ]ίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ, π[ρεσβευτῇ ἀντι]- Devreker; Τιβερίου Κλαυδ]ίου Καίσαρος Birley || Line 5: ΤΡΒΕΡΙΟΥ *IG* XV Praecorpus reading of the stone. || Line 8: ΤΟΚΑΕΟΥϹ *IG* XV Praecorpus reading of the stone.

Translation:

[. . .] (?) Dating system?
[To Titus Clodius Eprius] Marcellus, [- - - - - - - - - -],
[- - - - - -, *legat*]*e* of the fo[urth Scythian?] legion
[of Tiberius Claud]ius Caesar Augustus, G[ermanicus]-
[govern]or of Lycia of T<i>berius Claud[ius Caesar Ger]-
[mani]cus and of Nero Claudius Ca[esar Ger]-
[mani]cus, proconsul of Cyprus, Aristok[les]
[son of Aris]tok<l>es (set this monument up) in recognition of his honour.

[361] For example, this study, proconsul no. 11 [A].
[362] Other references: Mitford (1958), 1-6, no. 1; *SEG* 18.587; *Epig.* (1976), 180; *SEG* 26.1484; Birley (1981), 228-30; *SEG* 31.1647. Present Location: Ktima Museum, Cyprus, inv. n. 140.

The inscription states that a certain Aristokles set up this monument, a tablet, to Titus Clodius Eprius Marcellus in recognition of his honour. While the identity of Aristokles is otherwise unknown, it could be the case that this insider was of considerable standing in the Paphian community, had fostered a close relationship with this proconsul during his term in office, and had hoped to improve his own position by setting up a monument in praise of him. Likewise, the monument could have been set up in return for something that the proconsul may have done for Aristokles. The format of the *cursus honorum* is revealing as it shows an insider observing an epigraphic format that reflects the identity of an outsider.

Monuments naming Roman proconsuls of Cyprus have also been discovered across the Empire. Often these inscriptions feature their posts in Cyprus as part of a *cursus honorum* of the individual named, but some were set up by collective groups from Cyprus or individuals.[363] Another monument set up to Titus Clodius Eprius Marcellus has been discovered near his home town of Capua. This, along with the monument from Cyprus, point to the way in which Cypriots sought to improve their standing by flattering Roman official with considerable influence at Rome. A monument to Q. Laberius Iustus Cocceius Lepidus was also set up by a Cypriot in Rome.[364] Unusually, a few proconsuls appear in funerary monuments across Cyprus. For instance, the name of L. Sergius Paullus appears alone on a sarcophagus of Salamis;[365] as already mentioned an Apollonius built an enclosure for his family and named the proconsul, Paullus, in his monument.

In addition to monuments set up in the Cypriot *poleis*, statue bases and plaques naming proconsuls have been discovered at both celebrated and obscure religious sites across

[363] For example, this study, proconsuls nos. 3 [A], 4 [A], 11 [B], 18 [B], 35 [A], 36 [A], 42 [A], 47 [A], 48 [A], 50 [A], 51 [A], 55 [A].
[364] This study, proconsul no. 18 [B]. This monument will be discussed in chapter five of this study.
[365] For example, this study, proconsul no. 10 [C].

Cyprus: the Sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia at Palaipaphos,[366] the Sanctuary of Apollo Hylates at Kourion,[367] the Sanctuary of Aphrodite at Amathous,[368] at a shrine in Lapethus,[369] Chytroi,[370] and at the Temple to Zeus Olympios at Salamis.[371] Like those discovered in the *poleis*, monuments in sacred locations record the proconsuls fulfilling their official duties, such as overseeing the construction and repair of buildings (sometimes on behalf of the emperor);[372] overseeing statues and monuments set up for the emperor by individual *poleis* or by the *demos* and *boule* of a *polis*;[373] or setting up statues to the emperor.[374] One monument even names the proconsul in an inscribed text concerning the cult of Aphrodite Paphia.[375] Statues and plaques attest that the proconsuls were celebrated not only by the *poleis*,[376] but also by the *demos* and *boule* of the *poleis*.[377]

Epithets to describe the proconsuls of Cyprus are few but worth noting. For instance, few proconsuls are described as ἁγνός: in the monument set up to Q. Iulius Cordus as Kition he is praised as ἀγνείας;[378] Milionius? near Soloi as τοῦ ἁγνοῦ(?) ἀ]νθυπάτου;[379] D. Plautius Felix Iulianus at both Palaipaphos and Kourion as τὸν ἁγνὸν ἀνθ(ύπατον and τὸν λαμ]-πρότατον ἀνθ[ύπ]ατον, ἁγ[νία]ς καὶ φι[λαν]-θρωπίας χάριν

[366] For example, this study, proconsuls no. 8 [A], 15 [A], 26 [A], 39 [A-B], 52 [A], cf. also L. Coelius Pamphilius.
[367] For example, this study, proconsuls no. 12 and 13 [A], 18 [A], 19 [A-C]. Cf. also the monument to Publicola Priscus, this study, chapter four, section **4.3.3.2. Kourion Inscription** (*I.Kourion*, no. 89).
[368] For example, this study, proconsuls no. 16 [A-B], 34 [A].
[369] For example, this study, proconsul no. 5[A].
[370] Cf. this study, proconsul no. 10 [B].
[371] For example, this study, proconsul no. 7 [A].
[372] For example, this study, proconsuls nos. 16 [A-B], 18 [A], 19 [B, C], 20 [B], 34 [A].
[373] For example, this study, proconsuls nos. 5 [A], 7 [A], 26 [A].
[374] For example, this study, proconsuls nos. 12 [B], 15 [A].
[375] For example, this study, proconsul no. 10 [B].
[376] For example, this study, proconsuls no. 39 [C], cf. L. Coelius Pamphilius and Publicola Priscus.
[377] For example, this study, proconsuls nos. 19 [A], 20 [A], 39 [A]. Cf. also the monument to [L. T]arius Rufus discovered at the sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia, Palaipaphos.
[378] This study, proconsul no. 12 [A].
[379] This study, proconsul no. 14 [A].

respectively.[380] Mitford suggested that ἁγνείας was an epithet typical of the second century AD for Roman governors in the Greek East.[381] The proconsul Iulius Fronto Tlepolemus was named as κρατίστου ἀνθυπάτου (the equivalent of *vir egregius*) on a statue base that was erected for the Emperor Caracalla.[382] The third century AD monument of Claudius Leontichus names him as τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ὑπατικοῦ ἀπο θεμελίων τῇ λαμπρᾷ.[383] Finally, five monuments from the city of Salamis reveal that the *praeses* Antistius Sabinus set up monuments to the Emperor himself. The text of four of these monuments identify him as *v(ir) p(erfectissimus), [praeses prov(inciae) Cy]pri*.

Two monuments reveal how two Roman officials, a proconsul and also the son of proconsul, were named as patrons in Cyprus. It is unlikely that these Roman officials were official patrons of the cities and local communities: there is no evidence at all for the official ceremonies and responsibilities of a city patron.[384] In one inscription Lucius Vehilius, a proconsul and brother of two Roman officials on Cyprus, is honoured by the *koinon* of Cyprus as their patron.[385] The second inscription names Lucius Pontius Alefanus, the son of the proconsul L. Pontius (proconsul number 8 above), as he is honoured by the *boule* and *demos* of Paphos as a patron.

[380] This study, proconsul no. 39 [A] and [C]. Cf. Publicola Priscus who is described as ἁγνείας. This monument will be discussed in chapter four, section **4.3.3.2.**
[381] *I.Kourion*, 166; Cf. Robert (1948), 39: that the epithet denotes an individual with clean hands.
[382] This study, proconsul no. 25 [A].
[383] This study, proconsul no. 33 [A].
[384] Cf. Eilers (2002).
[385] This study, proconsul no. 45 [A].

Nea Paphos Inscription (*I.Paphos*, no. 237):[386]

Λευ[κίω]ι Ποντίωι Λευκίου υἱῶ̣[ι]
Ἀ̣ληφάνω̣ι, τῶι τ̣οῦ ἀνθυπάτου
υἱῶι, Σεβ[α]στῆς Πάφου ἡ βουλὴ
καὶ ὁ δῆμος τῶι π[ά]τ̣ρωνι.

Translation:

To Lu[cius] Pontius Alefanus so[n of] Lucius
son of the proconsul
the *boule* and *demos* of Seb[as]te Paphos (set this up to their) patron.

L. Pontius Alefanus presumably served as an official under his father but it is unclear why he is honoured as a patron. It is quite possible that the father was also honoured in Cyprus, but with his monument(s) not surviving the tests of time. Without comparable surviving evidence regarding the nature of the term patron and the relationship between 'patrons' and the cities of Roman Cyprus it is difficult to estimate what exactly the term patron meant in Roman Cyprus. Furthermore, it would be tenuous to suggest that this was a distinction that was sought by an outsider in this context, especially given the status of Cyprus in the Roman Empire. It is evident from the surviving inscriptions that attest monuments set up to proconsuls across the island, and outside, that the motives of insiders setting up monuments to outsiders would have most likely centered around an ambition to elevate the status of a city or a community within the Roman Empire. This statue base bears traces of two foot shaped depressions which suggests that a statue of L. Pontius Alefanus was set up, but it is interesting to note that the text of the inscription does not employ the Greek epigraphic convention of the accusative of the honorand, but the Latin dative of the

[386] Other references: Mitford (1958), 6-8, no. 2; *SEG* 18.588. Present Location: Ktima Museum, Cyprus, inv. n. 1037. Cf. Pliny the Younger, *Epistulae*, 5.14; 6.28; 7.4.

honorand.[387] It has been observed that some Greek inscriptions made use of the dative case in order to denote the divinity of an individual who was being commemorated in a monument. However, given that this monument was found in the vicinity of Nea Paphos it is likely that the use of the dative in Greek was utilised for this purpose. It appears that the *demos* and *boule* of Paphos deliberately made use of a Latin epigraphic convention to demonstrate their knowledge of outsider customs which were used appropriately for a monument to an outsider. Ultimately, the bilingual use of epigraphic practices could be considered as a contrived display by the *demos* and *boule* of Nea Paphos to showcase a close relationship with a Roman official, and ultimately with Rome. This message would have been emphasised by the statue which would have accompanied the inscription, no doubt representing L. Pontius Alefanus in garb which reflected his status as an outsider.[388]

Unlike in the *poleis* of Cyprus, it is at the sanctuaries of Cyprus that evidence for personal dedications made by proconsuls has been found. Two seemingly insignificant monuments set up and dedicated by proconsuls are worth noting here. D. Plautius Felix Iulianus honoured his daughter at the Sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia with a statue, of which only the statue base survives.

Palaipaphos Inscription (*I.Paphos*, no. 168):[389]

Ἀφροδείτῃ Παφίᾳ.
Πλαυτίαν Ἐλπίδα
Πλαυτίου Φήλεικος
Ἰουλιανοῦ ἀνθυπάτου.

[387] Mitford (1958), 6-7. For further interpretation of the material of the statue set up see Dillon (2010), 23-4 and footnote 86. Dillon highlights that depressions in a pedestal could indicate that the accompanying statue was made of bronze.

[388] See Smith (1998), particularly 59-93 which highlights the way in which bilingual cultural identity was expressed in portrait sculpture. Although the case studies in this article discuss portrait statuary in the second century AD, some interesting observations are made in general about the development and significance of hair styles, attire and the stance of earlier portrait statuary.

[389] Other references: Hogarth, James et al. (1888), 249, no. 104; *IGR* III 956; *SEG* 20.255. Present Location: Kouklia Museum, Cyprus, inv. no. KM. 16.

Translation:

To Aphrodite Paphia
Plautia Elpis daughter of
Plautius Felix
Iulianus the proconsul.

There is no indication as to why he set up a monument to his daughter or whether she accompanied him during his term in office. Other monuments discovered in Nea Paphos and the sanctuary of Palaipaphos to children or relatives of proconsuls have been discovered, though sadly these are all fragmentary and do not reveal the occasion of the dedications.[390] The monument of D. Plautius Felix Iulianus to his daughter could be interpreted as evidence of an outsider behaving as an insider. While the monument is set up in a high profile location, no doubt the best location for the celebration of an individual, the monument is exclusively in Greek and features the accusative of the honorand, perhaps in order to ingratiate himself with insiders and show deference to the local gods. Unfortunately, the statue of the monument does not survive so it is difficult to comment on whether the image of his daughter reflected insider or outsider identity, or both. An inscription of a very different nature, set up by a proconsul, discovered at the Sanctuary of Aphrodite at Amathous commemorates the dedication of statues of Aphrodite of Amathous with his own money in the second century AD.

Amathous Inscription (Hermary (1988/2), 102, no. 5):[391]

[Crep?]ereius Pro– – – – – – – –
[mo]numentum si[gnumque aer]–
[eu?]m Veneris Cypr[iae – – – –]
– – –taei pecunia – – – – – – –

[390] For the monuments of children or other family members possibly associated with Roman administrators of Cyprus cf. *I.Paphos*, nos. 162 and 164.
[391] Other references: Le Glay (1986), 27-34; Marcillet–Jaubert (1987), 33-4; Hermary (1988/2), 102, no. 5. Present Location: Louvre, Paris, inv. no. cat. Ducroux 923.

Translation:

[Crep?]erius Pro(consul?) - - -
[mo]nument and stat[ue of bronze]
of Venus of Cyprus
- - - out of his (own) money - - -

Stemma:

Line 4: taei pecunias Marcillet-Jaubert || Line 5: [.?.] // // [- - - Marcillet-Jaubert || Line 6: -----?----- Marcillet-Jaubert.

The dedicatory tablet is in Latin and names the goddess Aphrodite in very Roman terms as Venus which is highly unusual in Cyprus. In comparison to the monument set up to Plautia Elpis, the inscription of Creperius reveals a very deliberate use of the Latin language, perhaps to emphasise the official nature of the dedication being made, and also the identity and status of the outsider in the local community.

Few Roman proconsuls are represented more than once or twice in the epigraphic record. Q. Caelius Honoratus is recorded in three inscriptions; Q. Seppius Celer M. Titius Sassius Candidus in three inscriptions; D. Plautius Felix Iulianus in four inscriptions; Audius Bassus in five inscriptions; and A. Sabinus in five inscriptions. The existence of these monuments is not necessarily an indication of their popularity or prolific activity during their role as proconsul. A more realistic analysis of the high number of inscriptions for these proconsuls can be assigned to accidents of survival.

2.5. Conclusions.

Without doubt Cyprus' annexation from Egypt was a significant episode in the island's history. Cyprus went from being a hub of an empire to being on the periphery of one. The politics surrounding the episode prompted varied responses in Rome, Egypt, and Cyprus. The

literary evidence suggests that while resistance to the annexation by Cicero and rejection of Rome may have been desired by Alexandrians in Egypt as recounted by Cassius Dio, it was not a possible solution for the Cypriots themselves given the lack of resources available to them. Instead, it should be noted that Cassius Dio's interpretation of Cypriot response to the Roman takeover highlights that the Cypriots were fully aware of their situation and sought to protect their interests as best they could by 'welcoming' Rome.

The initial administration of Cyprus was erratic, corrupt, and ineffective. Little can be gleaned from the material evidence relating to the relationship between the Roman administrators and the inhabitants of the island. Cicero's correspondence is most illuminative and provides an insight into both positive and negative interactions of locals with Roman administrators. Furthermore, his account of his proconsulship emphasises that we should bear in mind instances where relations between proconsul and a local community were not recorded for posterity, particularly when he wrote that he refused any honorific monuments to be set up to commemorate him. Little is also known about the Ptolemaic restoration and government of Cyprus. Furthermore, local reaction to the Ptolemaic restoration is frustratingly silent. Octavian regained control of the island in 30 BC with the defeat of Anthony and Cleopatra VII. Evidence concerning the proconsul and his retinue post 27 BC points to an efficient and well governed province, one in which Rome went about its business with a mostly positive and official interaction with her subjects. The surviving evidence which attests the Roman administration from this time is rich and varied, but also fragmentary. Nevertheless, it allows for useful discussion of the identity of the proconsuls, their role in general, and interaction with Cypriots and local communities. The majority of the evidence is epigraphic and presents a mostly efficient government of Cyprus with mostly positive interactions with locals and local communities. The exception to this rule is the case

of the proconsul Theodorus being cursed in a *defixio* found at Amathous. Study of the remaining unpublished tablets could potentially reveal more about the interactions between the community of Amathous and Roman officials. This could slightly alter our present understanding of Roman administration of the island.

This chapter has proven to be important for establishing the climate in which Cyprus was incorporated into the Roman Empire and the status of the island in this new order. A closer look at the available evidence for the proconsuls of Roman Cyprus is also a useful starting point of the Roman administration which could be further explored through the study of other Roman officials.

Chapter Three. Reacting to Rome: Roman Citizenship in Cyprus.

3.1. Introduction.

Having considered the impact of Rome, in chapter two, by focusing on the Roman annexation and then the subsequent administration of Cyprus, this chapter will explore reactions to Rome and will assess the impact of Roman citizenship in Cyprus on the identities, experiences, and negotiations of power of individuals visiting or living on the island.

It is without doubt that the grant of citizenship was crucial to the identity, and experience, of an individual in the Roman Empire. A. N. Sherwin-White's influential study of the Roman citizenship highlights the following aspects of enfranchisement that are directly relevant to our understanding of the impact of Roman citizenship in Cyprus. Throughout the Republic the focus for awarding legal rights and status was very much on communities, not individuals.[392] Sometimes awards were granted as a reward for loyalty to Rome following conflict, but it is also evident that it was a mechanism by which conquered regions (often awarded the status of *oppidum* or *municipium*) could be directly subjected to Roman law.[393] Inevitably, the meaning and legal significance of enfranchisement varied throughout the history of the Roman Empire, and also according to region.[394] This is evident from the end of the Republic, when individual grants of Roman citizenship began to be awarded to provincials outside Italy, particularly in the Eastern provinces, when individual grants were rare and the prerogative of the great generals, not proconsuls.[395] Under Julius Caesar and Octavian, later Augustus, the Roman Empire saw the first large scale extension of Roman

[392] Sherwin-White (1973), 150, 156, 273.
[393] Sherwin-White (1973), 159.
[394] Sherwin-White (1973), 222.
[395] Sherwin-White (1973), 310.

citizenship in the provinces, though their motives and methods were different.[396] Sherwin-White observed that under Augustus the spread, meaning, and value of Roman citizenship changed dramatically; it became 'a passive citizenship...sought no longer for its political significance but as an honour or out of sentiment.'[397] Most important for this study of Roman citizenship is the observation that in the Imperial Period, it was the norm for an individual to make use of his status as a Roman citizen without surrendering his peregrine origin.[398] The duties of a citizen were whittled down by the mid second century, and possessing Roman citizenship was a matter of honour and titular distinction.[399] There was no known institution by which local elites from the eastern provinces could acquire citizenship; it was highly likely that provincial councils and local governments (i.e. representatives of self-governing cities) heavily assisted the enfranchisement of their members.[400] While it can be noted that communities were not granted Roman status in the east *en masse*, it is without doubt that the enfranchisement of one, or several, leading citizen(s) from a city would provide a regular link for the community with the Roman government on a regular basis.[401] Therefore, it is not surprising that local elites who were awarded *civitas* were celebrated by the governing bodies of their cities as well as by other non-enfranchised individuals. In real terms, this meant that local elites of a city were perhaps commended by the proconsul to the *Princeps* for grants of Roman citizenship (possibly by written petition).[402]

[396] Sherwin-White (1973), 225, 230-233.
[397] Sherwin-White (1973), 222.
[398] Sherwin-White (1973), 245.
[399] Sherwin-White (1973), 244, 267, 270.
[400] Sherwin-White (1973), 310, 311: There is no evidence (apart from the high priesthoods of Asia) that *ex officio* guaranteed enfranchisement.
[401] Cf. Sherwin-White (1973), 272.
[402] Sherwin-White (1973), 311.

Roman citizenship in Cyprus was initially explored at length by Mitford.[403] He identified instances in which the names of enfranchised locals appeared in inscriptions of Salamis, and compared this with evidence from other major cities of the island, observing the following points. Firstly, during the late Republic and early Empire the monuments of enfranchised citizens, individuals from Italy or connected to a 'colony' of residents from Rome, with the name *C. Iulius* are attested in Salamis, Paphos, and Kition.[404] These individuals were either granted citizenship by Julius Caesar or Octavian.[405] Mitford suggested that traces of the name *Iulius* disappeared from Cyprus because individuals already bearing this name, or those who acquired it through citizenship, made little impact on the island; also any Roman citizens, from Italy based in Salamis and Paphos from this time, may have left Cyprus for the prospect of greater rewards elsewhere.[406] He also noted that the original status of enfranchised citizens at Paphos was higher than enfranchised individuals with the name *Iulius* from Salamis during this time (because a monument from Salamis denotes the servile origins of the individuals who were enfranchised).[407] Secondly, in general, during the century following Julius Caesar's death no evidence of Roman citizenship is recorded in Cyprus.[408] In the later years of Nero's reign grants of citizenship at Salamis to a family with the name *Ti. Claudius* are attested. Thirdly, with the demise of the enfranchised local families from the first century AD, the epigraphic evidence shows that grants of citizenship at the turn of the second century AD were scarce.[409] Finally, Mitford concluded that in all three cities of Salamis, Paphos, and Kition by the early decades of the second century AD, there was a sense of disenchantment on behalf of the Cypriots as their outward displays of loyalty to

[403] Mitford (1980a), 1326-65; Mitford (1980b).
[404] Mitford (1980b), 277, 280, 281, cf. 286.
[405] Mitford (1980b), 276-7, 280, 286.
[406] Mitford (1980b), 286.
[407] Mitford (1980b), 275, cf. 276-7, 281.
[408] Mitford (1980b), 277, 280.
[409] Mitford (1980b), 280.

Rome were not rewarded with citizenship.[410] For Mitford, Cyprus' apparently minimal reaction to the *Constitutio Antoniniana* in AD 212, which saw Caracalla grant *civitas* to all free male inhabitants of the Empire, confirmed that this disenchantment developed into complete apathy.[411] Instead, a 'lively patriotism' emerged as a result of this disenchantment which saw individuals, and communities, focus on civic and insular concerns.[412] The irregularity of grants of *civitas* in Roman Cyprus prompted Mitford to question how and why individuals were enfranchised. His study illustrated that involvement in local, civic, or religious office did not guarantee a grant or reward of citizenship, nor was there any particular pattern for how it was granted.[413] Mitford also noted that *civitas* appeared sporadically and without explanation elsewhere in Roman Cyprus.[414]

The question no longer remains, then of when, why, and how were locals granted Roman citizenship in Cyprus, but of how Roman citizenship was used by those who acquired it in their monuments to advertise their identity, power, and status in Cyprus. A consideration of the self-presentation of individuals who had obtained the citizenship, and how they were represented by others is fundamental to an assessment of Cypriot perception of 'Roman identity' and reaction to grants of citizenship. This chapter will also address Mitford's interpretation that it was only in the second century AD that individuals from Cyprus turned to their own cities, following their disenchantment with pursuing grants of citizenship. An investigation of these themes will contribute to a wider discussion of cultural identity and experience in the Roman provinces.

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[410] Mitford (1980b), 280, 286-7.
[411] Mitford (1980b), 276, 280, and 286-7. Some rare *Aurelii* occur at Kourion and Kition: for example for Kourion cf. *I.Kourion*, nos. 101-103.
[412] Mitford (1980b), 280, 286-7.
[413] Mitford (1980b), 275, 279, 281-2, 284, 286-7.
[414] Mitford (1980b), 284. For example in Keryneia, one example: Mitford (1980b), 284; Mitford (1950b), 20, no. 10. Soloi, one example: Mitford (1980b), 284. *SCE* III, 626, no. 12; Amathous, one example: Mitford (1980b), 284 but a reference is not given.

This chapter will be divided into two sections. The first section will focus on the self-representation and identity of visitors (outsiders) to the island who were Roman citizens. The second section will then consider the display of Roman citizenship by, and its significance to, locally-enfranchised citizens (insiders). Both parts will be driven by questions such as, how did Roman citizens choose to present themselves in their monuments? How were Roman citizens perceived by individuals and communities while setting up monuments in their honour? Could they be perceived as insiders or outsiders? Do the monuments of Roman citizens as 'outsiders' suggest their successful integration? Did 'outsiders' have to visit Cyprus to make an impact? Do the monuments of locally-enfranchised Roman citizens suggest their integration into the Empire (through participation in embassies, and imperial worship, for example)?

It has been observed that burial customs was one aspect of ancient culture that was slow to admit change.[415] Nevertheless, the self representation of individuals, and familial groups, in funerary monuments would be useful to compare with the expression of identity in monuments set up in busy hubs of the *poleis*.[416] For instance, to observe any differences and similarities in the pattern and language of commemoration, or to explore the self representation of individuals and social groups, such as freedmen and freedwomen, who were not always able to celebrate their careers and achievements in life as high ranking members of the local elite would have been able to do so. While funerary inscriptions and monuments from Roman Cyprus are abundant, the available evidence relevant to this particular study only allows for us to make general observations. The evidence is limited firstly because a vast majority of the Roman funerary *cippi* commemorate the deceased using the format presented below in a monument dated to the second century AD.

[415] Parks (2003), 234. For an overview of burial customs of Roman Cyprus cf. Mitford (1980a), 1373-5.
[416] Cf. van Nijf (2010).

Amathous Inscription (*ICA* 33 (in *RDAC* 1994), 186, no. 20):[417]

Ἡλιόδωρε Μηνο–
δότου χρηστὲ
χαῖρε.

Translation:

Heliodorus son of Menodotus
farewell.

The evidence reveals nothing about the status, ethnicity, profession, and relationships of the named indvidual. According to Mitford, as few as three funerary monuments name Roman citizens, presumably he meant individuals who had been enfranchised, though it is unclear.[418] These include the monuments of C. Iulius Iulianus Priscus discovered at Agios Tychonas, L. Atinius Niger discovered at Pyrgos, and finally an M. Cosconius, son of Philon, presented below.[419]

Amathous Inscription: (*ICA* 11 (in *RDAC* 1972), 260-1, no. 21):[420]

Μᾶρκε
Κοσκώνιε
Φίλωνος
χρηστὲ
χαῖρε. 5.

Translation:

Marcus Cosconius,
Son of Philon,
farewell.

[417] Other references: *SEG* 44.1253; Cf. *BE* (1996), 462. Present Location: Limassol Museum, Cyprus, inv. no. LMRR. 1579/20.
[418] Mitford (1980a), 1365.
[419] Cf. Mitford (1980a), 1365, footnote 406.
[420] *ICA* 11 (in *RDAC* 1972), 260-1, no. 21 dated this monument to the second to third century AD. Mitford (1980a), 1365 dated it to the end of the first century AD. Other references: *SEG* 41.1437. Present Location: Limassol Museum, Cyprus, inv. no. 94.

Again, the monument follows the same formula as the inscription given above and thus reveals very little about the individual commemorated. Surviving accompanying statuary or portraiture from the Roman period sheds little light on the cultural choices of some members of Cypriot society. Elena Poyiadji-Richter's study 'Roman portrait on Cypriot Grave Reliefs' considers fourteen out of the twenty-seven known grave reliefs with human figures.[421] All fourteen reliefs studied originated from central Cyprus, were monumental in size, and were worked in high relief.[422] Poyiadji-Richter highlighted that while the reliefs do not reveal the identities, ethnicities, social and professional status of the individuals portrayed, the hair styles depicted along with jewellery worn by women and wreaths worn by men suggest that these images probably represented citizens of the island who belonged to a prosperous upper class.[423] Most significant is the emulation of imperial court hairstyles in the portraits of the women studied by Poyiadji-Richter, showing the influence of Rome in the visual self representation of individuals.[424] The adoption of such fashions is also suggestive of a desire to be perceived in a particular way, perhaps as 'Roman', to further emphasise ones status and connections.[425]

Both strands of this investigation will consider how insiders and outsiders utilised their local knowledge and negotiated their power with each other in order to take advantage of the system under which they were living, or were controlling. Because of the irregular pattern of citizenship in Cyprus the second part of this chapter will focus on evidence for citizenship in Nea Paphos and Salamis and will concentrate of the evidence for two major priestly families. Features to look for in the monuments presented will be the language in

[421] Poyiadji-Richter (2009).
[422] Poyiadji-Richter (2009), 178.
[423] Poyiadji-Richter (2009), 181-2, 186-7.
[424] Poyiadji-Richter (2009), 187.
[425] Parks (2003) observed the influence of Egyptian elements in burial practices in Hellenistic and Roman Cyprus.

which inscriptions were set up, as well as markers that point to local features such as epigraphic formulae, religious titles, and the names of local deities. The question of whether Cypriot elites were disenchanted with pursuing citizenship by the time of the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, as suggested by Mitford, will be answered in the conclusion. Consideration of any accompanying statues and the environment of the monument will also be crucial to analysis of expressions of identity.

3.2. Being 'Roman' in Cyprus: the self-representation and perception of visitors from Italy.

3.2.1. Trading communities from Italy.

Prior to the annexation of Cyprus, several trading communities from Italy resided on the island, notably in the cities of Paphos, Salamis, and possibly Kition, where commerce was strong and flourishing.[426] The activities of Italian trading communities were wide reaching during the second and first centuries BC.[427] For instance, epigraphic evidence from important trading hubs such as Ephesos, Cos, and Delos not only reveal their presence, and activities, but also the connections that Rome had established across the Eastern Mediterranean, the central Aegean, and Asia Minor.[428] As a group, they often chose to distinguish themselves by representing themselves as *cives Romani qui* in whatever place *negotiantur* in their public monuments. Although the title *negotiator* is rarely defined in a particular way, it is clear from literary accounts and inscriptions that these men were involved with the work of the *publicani*

[426] Mitford (1980a), 1297, 1363, and footnote 394.
[427] Key reading remains: Hatzfeld (1919); van Berchem (1962); Adams (2003), chapter six; Cf. Potter (2000), 765-8, 783.
[428] Adams (2003), 642.

(tax companies), bankers, landowners, and shipping.[429] *Negotiatores* are thought to have lived with each other in their *conventus*, or community, and were often acknowledged as *katoikoi*, or resident aliens, by their neighbours.[430] *Negotiatores* from Southern Italy and Magna Graecia would have included slaves, and freedmen of Greek origin, as well as Romans amongst their community.[431]

Studies of the representation of *negotiatores* have been important to our understanding of their impact and integration in the cities in which they worked and lived. Public monuments and their inscriptions, which reflect the contrived use of language, such as epigraphic conventions and language choice, are excellent sources of information for this. The inscriptions from Delos, dated between the second to first century BC, tell us something of their social make-up as they often contain details about the names, ethnic, and/or state a place of origin of some individuals.[432] Furthermore, the use of the terms Ῥωμαῖοι (Romans) or Ἰταλικοί (*Italici* in Latin) in the monuments of the *negotiatores* has also been of great interest to such investigations. The first major study on trading communities by Jean Hatzfeld considered the two terms as denoting the same group of people and regarded the use of Ῥωμαῖοι and Ἰταλικοί as interchangeable.[433] In response, Berchem argued that there was a particular distinction between the two terms.[434] More recently, this theme has been explored further by J. N. Adams. He identified different ways in which Ῥωμαῖοι and *Italici* were used at Delos, with *Italici* used to denote a collective identity, exclusively used in the plural,

[429] van Berchem (1962), 305-13; Potter (2000), 765-6.
[430] Hatzfeld, (1919), 202; Potter (2000), 765-6.
[431] Adams (2003), 643-4.
[432] Adams (2003), 643-4. Cf. *I.Delos*, nos. 1724, 2013, 2245.
[433] Hatzfeld (1919), 262.
[434] van Berchem (1962), 306, footnote 5; 309-10. Cf. Hatzfeld (1919), 245.

whereas Ῥωμαῖοι was used less frequently and behaved differently in the plural.[435] For Adams, the use of both Ῥωμαῖοι and *Italici* at Delos was not straightforward. Not only did the use of these terms by Romans and Italians themselves at Delos in monuments set up in Greek or Latin, or in bilingual monuments using both languages, reveal the conscious construction and display of a particular, separate identity from the Delian community, but the use of the terms also denoted the integration of these outsiders within Delos.[436]

However they were named in their monuments, the settlement of Romans and other Italians in the Aegean and Asia Minor had a significant impact upon the cities in which they lived.[437] Perhaps the most beneficial aspect to the integration of the Italian communities was that they acted as a link for the local aristocracies to the highest levels of Roman society. Prominent men attached to these trading groups often took a direct and important role in the cities of their residence; they were influential individuals and held local offices, acted as local benefactors, secured favours from their connections, and could even obtain great favours for their new cities. Their participation in local cults and at great centres of learning illustrates the ways in which they integrated into their communities too.[438] On the other hand, the integration of Romans and Italians into the provinces did not always result in fruitful collaboration or the rise in profile of the province of residence; in some cases the arrival of these Italian communities caused great tension.[439] Unlike the integration of the communities from Italy in other provinces, it appears that the infrequency of Italian names in Cypriot inscriptions is an indication that they did not have a significant impact upon the social

[435] Adams (2003), 642-3, 651-8.
[436] Adams (2003), chapter six in general and pages 651-8 in particular.
[437] Potter (2000), 765-6: For the negative impact of *negotiatores* cf. Le Roy (1978).
[438] Potter (2000), 765-7: Cf. Hatzfeld, (1919), 303-4; Sherwin-White (1978), 250-5.
[439] Potter (2000), 766-7.

structure of the island.[440] Nevertheless, a closer reading of the epigraphic evidence from Cyprus can tell us about their integration and the projected and perceived identities of the Italian trading communities.

Before considering the material evidence it is worth summarising the evidence for *negotiatores* from Cyprus in the literary sources. The first mention of *negotiatores* in Cyprus is made by Cicero, seven years after the annexation when he was proconsul of Cilicia.[441] Cicero's account of M. Iunius Brutus' dealings in Cyprus makes reference to Brutus' two agents, Marcus Scaptius and Publius Matidius, who were given the task of collecting repayment of the loan, and some interest, from the Salaminians.[442] By the time of Cicero's appointment as proconsul of Cilicia and Cyprus in 51 BC, tensions between Brutus' agents and the Salaminians were running high. Having secured some cavalry from Cicero's predecessor, Appius Claudius Pulcher, Scaptius barricaded some Salaminians in their local senate house, where five starved to death.[443] Cicero ordered the cavalry to leave Cyprus and in 50 BC eventually negotiated a repayment of the loan at an annual interest rate of 12%, this was rejected by Scaptius who had insisted on an annual rate of 48%.[444] This whole affair illustrates the corruption of some individuals who sought business opportunities in the provinces and is reflective of the negative impact that they had on some communities. Another account of *negotiatores* in Cyprus is provided by Caesar's commentary on the civil wars.[445] Caesar reported that Pompey, detained in Cilicia and then Cyprus by bad weather in 48 BC, encountered Antiochians, and *negotiatores* from Italy trading on the island who tell

[440] Potter (2000), 772-3: cf. Hatzfeld, (1919), 140-2.
[441] Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, 5.21.6 = *SB* 114. 6.
[442] The whole episode is recounted in Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, 5.21.10-12 = *SB* 114.10-12; 6.1.5-6 = *SB* 115.5-6; 6.2.7-9 = *SB* 116.7-9; 6.3.5 = *SB*117.5. See Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, 6.1.4; 6.1.6; 6.2.8 = *SB* 115.4; 115.6; 116.8 for Cicero's dealings with Scaptius and the pressure put on him as proconsul to appoint *negotiatores* as *praefecti*. Cf. Potter (2000), 780-1.
[443] Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, 5.21.10 = *SB* 114.10; 6.1.6 = *SB* 115.6; 6.2.8 = *SB* 116.8.
[444] Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, 5.21.11 = *SB* 114.11. 6.1.5 = *SB* 115.5 6.2.7 = *SB* 116.7.
[445] Caesar, *Bellum Civile*, 3.102-103. Cf. Hatzfeld (1919), 142.

him that it is unsafe to travel to Antioch. Having heard this news, Pompey set aside his design of going into Syria, seized all the money he found in the public bank, and managed to raise two thousand soldiers, amongst whom were public officers, *negotiatores*, and his own servants, who then sailed for Pelusium, Egypt.[446]

Epigraphic evidence for *negotiatores* in Cyprus does not yield the wealth of information that is known about them from other places where Italian businessmen were trading; as few as three inscriptions name them.

A statue base, discovered at the Sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia at Palaipaphos, clearly names *negotiatores* in business at Paphos as responsible for setting up the monument.

Palaipaphos Inscription (*I.Paphos*, no. 136):[447]

[Cives Romani Qui Pa]phi Negotiantur

[Ἀφροδίτηι] Παφίαι
[οἱ πραγματευόμενοι ἐν] Πάφωι Ῥωμαῖοι.

Stemma:

Line 1: PH and VR Ligature; [Veneri Paphiae c. R. | qui Pa]phi negotiantur *ILS* 7208; [Veneri Paphiae | qui Pa]phi negotiantur *CIL*; *IGR*; *SEG.*

Translation:

[Citizens of Rome who] are trading in Paphos

To [Aphrodite] Paphia
[The Romans [being engaged in business] in Paphos (set up this monument).

The date of this monument is problematic. The appearance of the stone initially prompted the editors Hogarth, James, et al. to comment on the 'considerable space between the Latin and the Greek'; they suggested that the Latin had been inscribed on the stone at a

[446] Caesar, *Bellum Civile*, 3.103.1.
[447] Other references: Hogarth, James, et al. (1888), 234-5, no. 28; *CIL* 3.12101; *ILS* 7208; *IGR* III 965; Mitford (1947), 226, footnote 106; Mitford (1961b), 41, no. 113; *SEG* 20.212; Mitford (1950b), 52, footnote 2; *SEG* 30.1568; Moretti (1981), 260-4; *SEG* 31.1360. Present Location: Kouklia Museum, Cyprus, KM 30.

later date.[448] Mitford later dismissed this interpretation of the spacing and concluded that it was 'no more than the normal spacing of the lines'.[449] Mitford also felt that the editors of *CIL* and *IGR* were at fault in assuming the loss of a line above the Latin text.[450] He concluded that 'the Latin and the Greek are contemporaneous and definitely Ptolemaic rather than Republican.'[451] Mitford noted that an Italian trading group was established at Alexandria as early as the time of Euergetes II, and so it would not be impossible to imagine that Paphos had its own 'colony' of Italians trading there at a slightly later date.[452] Alternatively, both Moretti and Cayla have suggested that the monument should be dated to the beginning to the middle of the first century BC.[453] Another uncertain aspect of this inscription is the fact that it tells us nothing of the nature of the dedication made by the businessmen to Paphian Aphrodite.

The self representation of these *negotiatores* is striking. While the bilingual elements of the monument express the same meaning, the prominence of the Latin above the dedicatory heading to Paphian Aphrodite is out of character for a monument from this sanctuary. The name of the goddess with her Paphian epithet appears on statue bases which were set up at the sanctuary frequently, with the earliest dedication to her in this way dating from 221-205 BC.[454] Prior to this, and afterwards, she appeared as Aphrodite *simpliciter* and her name often featured at the bottom of inscriptions from the sanctuary rather than at the top.[455] From around 221-205 BC her name begins to appear at the top of pedestals which bore statues of the local elite, governors of the island, gymnasiarchs, and high priests of the

[448] Hogarth, James, et al. (1888), 234-5.
[449] Mitford (1947), 226, footnote 106.
[450] Mitford (1961b), 41, no. 113.
[451] Mitford (1947), 226, footnote 106.
[452] Cf. *OGIS* II 133 and 135.
[453] Moretti (1981), 260-4; *I.Paphos*, 285.
[454] Hogarth, James, et al. (1888), 13, no. 32.
[455] For example: Mitford (1961b), nos. 22, 30, 31, 37, 38, 47, 48, 61.

Ptolemaic cult.[456] Interestingly, her name in this, and any, form appears at the bottom of inscriptions set up in honour of the Ptolemies.[457] Later statues set up of the Roman Emperors, members of the imperial household and Roman administration on the island, bore her name in the heading of the inscriptions.[458] Therefore, it was customary for her name to appear with her Paphian epithet at the heading of a statue base, with the name of the honorand in the accusative case, during the Roman period. On this statue base which names the *negotiatores* it is unusual that she appears centrally in the middle of the stone. It is unsurprising that the original editors considered the Latin as an addition to the stone and that a line may have been missing above. Whether the inscription is complete or not, it is unique in the context of this sanctuary because it is bilingual. If a line, or several lines, of Latin is missing from the top of the stone, then it could potentially tell us something about the *negotiatores'* perception of themselves as community of outsiders in Paphos at this time; this could be the case because the Latin takes precedence over the Greek in the monument, and presumably the Aphrodite Paphia inscribed in Greek could have been mirrored in Latin. Any missing lines of text could potentially tell us something more of the nature of the monument too. While Mitford considered the nature of the dedication uncertain, it has been noted by those who have examined this inscription that it features on a pedestal or marble base: the statue base was later re-used to commemorate a Lucius Vitellius Crispus with a statue.[459] It is unclear who the statue dedicated by the *negotiatores* would have represented. One would then expect the Greek part of the inscription to utilise the accusative case to denote the honorand of the monument. The naming of the goddess to whom the monument is being set up is not in the

[456] For example: Mitford (1961b), nos. 23, 27, 28, 29, 32, 41, 62, 63, 66, 68, 85, 89, 98, 99, 100, 102, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110.
[457] For example: Mitford (1961b), nos. 56, 88.
[458] For example: Hogarth, James, et al. (1888), nos. 6, 7, 8, 10, 25, 33.
[459] Hogarth, James, et al. (1888), no. 25.

accusative, which is a trait of Greek epigraphic conventions, but in the dative which is the normal convention in Latin inscriptions, but also used in Greek inscriptions when invoking a deity or divine figure.[460] Very little complete statuary has been discovered at the sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia and so the nature of the evidence is poor in comparison to other well-attested sacred sites such as Aphrodisias. [461] Whatever the accompanying statue represented, this dedication could potentially offer an interesting example of the differing impact of an image and a text in a Greek sanctuary, particularly one at this date which could have been visually impressive and decorated with statues of the ruling Ptolemies and their subordinates. The initial, visual impact of this monument is that of a Roman community observing local customs and practice by setting up a dedication and revering the local goddess. By dedicating a monument in the sanctuary of the most prominent deity of the island in this particular setting, the citizens of Rome are displaying the behaviour of a group observing the local customs and practices of a community in which they are 'foreigners'. The monument as a whole tells us of a Latin community in a Greek world, observing and revering local customs but doing so by behaving in a way that may have been reminiscent of Italian practices. The text itself makes clear that they are not locals and that they wanted to project a group-identity as outsiders.

A statue base of a later date discovered at Ktima, Nea Paphos, names citizens of Rome as dedicators of a monument to the proconsul. Although this inscription does not explicitly name the outsiders as *negotiatores*, the monument represents another example of a community of outsiders, during the earliest stages of Roman rule. It is possible that under the

[460] Stewart (2003), 167-8.
[461] Cf. Wieland and Frey-Asche (2011) for a recent study on the statuary discovered at the sanctuary; Smith (2006) for statues set up at Aphrodisias.

Republic, or at the outset of the Empire, the *negotiatores* from Italy speak of themselves as *c(ives) R(omani) Paphiae diocen(seos)*.[462]

Nea Paphos Inscription (*I.Paphos*, no. 242):[463]

M. Vehilio Pontif(ici)
pro co(n)s(uli), cives R(omani)
Paphiae diocen(seos)

Stemma:

Line 1: M. Uphilio pontif(ici) Seyrig || Line 2: procons(uli), cives p(osuerunt) Seyrig || Line 3: Diocen or Diogen *AnnÉp* (1928).

Translation:

To M(arcus) Vehilius Pontifex
proconsul, the Roman citizens
of the Paphian *diocese* (set this monument up).

As mentioned above, the identity of the proconsul as M. Vehilius has been confirmed.[464] This verification could potentially assist in dating the monument precisely, but M. Vehilius is otherwise unknown, and so the dating of the monument remains uncertain; this issue will be addressed shortly. At first glance, it is clear that the location and individual to whom the monument is set up are important factors in the character of this dedication, which is very different from the earlier, second century BC statue to Paphian Aphrodite at her sanctuary.[465] While the inscription is fragmentary, the tone of the monument is made obvious by the text. Firstly, the inscription is exclusively in Latin. Secondly, the monument is an

[462] Mitford (1950b), 52, no. 2; Mitford (1961b), 41.
[463] Other references: Seyrig (1927), 143, no. 4; *AnnÉp* (1928), no. 62; Hill (1940), 254; *RE* 17, 2041, no. 6; *AnnÉp* (1953), no. 169a; Mitford (1980a), 1294, and footnote 26. Cf. Markides, *Cyprus Museum Files* 176 recorded in Mitford (1958), 8-9, footnote 32; Christol (1986); Młynarczyk (1990), 159, table b item 23; Rüpke (2005), 945. Present Location: Kouklia Museum, Cyprus, KM 13.
[464] Cf. chapter two of this study, proconsul no. 43. *I.Paphos*, 404-5 suggests that he was probably the son or grandson of M. Vehilius, praetor in 44 BC.
[465] Młynarczyk (1990), table b item 23, page 159: that the pedestal was dedicated to Aphrodite Paphia, discovered in the remains of a temple- that this temple was the temple of Aphrodite Paphia at Nea Paphos.

honorific dedication to a representative of Rome, the governor, and reflects the reality that Cyprus was firmly under Roman rule. Line one not only names the proconsul, but emphasises his religious duties at Rome as he is named *Pontif(ex)*. Furthermore, line three describes Paphos as *Diocen(seos)* which firmly attests the division of Cyprus into districts under Roman rule. The text is clearly a deliberate expression of Roman identity and does not attempt to observe any local customs. This marks the monument as distinctively different from the earlier monument set up at the sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia. The dative of the honorand, along with traces of fixtures for a bronze statue on the pedestal, indicate that the inscription would have been accompanied by an image of the proconsul which would have enhanced this statement.[466] Presumably this would have been an image of him in military dress perhaps, or even attire that indicated his religious status.[467]

Recently, Cayla suggested that the monument could in fact have been set up by newly enfranchised local citizens and not *negotiatores*. Several enfranchised families with the name *C. Iulius* are known from the Paphos region from the first century BC; they are the earliest known examples of locals being granted citizenship on the island.[468] Cayla suggests that proud of their new membership, these new citizens may not have hesitated to use Latin to honour their proconsul.[469] For Cayla, this hypothesis explains the unusual appearance of *Diocenseos* - the ending is supplied as a genitive of the Greek, though he does admit there are flaws with this hypothesis.[470] If this monument represents the first enfranchised inhabitants of Cyprus, the monument would date to the 40s BC, but this is an incompatible date for the

[466] *I.Paphos*, 404.
[467] The marble cuirassed statue of M. Holconius Rufus from Pompeii could be a useful comparison. Cf. Cooley and Cooley (2004), plate 6.1 F89a. See also Smith (1998), part three. As mentioned above, although this article focuses on trends and practices relating to the second century AD Smith emphasises the significance of an individual's choice of pose and garb in honorific portraiture statuary in general as markers of cultural identity.
[468] *I.Paphos*, nos. 118-9.
[469] *I.Paphos*, 405.
[470] *I.Paphos*, 405.

proconsulship of M. Vehilius as it would mean that he was proconsul during the Ptolemaic restoration, which is not possible.[471] Inscriptions from across the island reveal that local elites who had been awarded Roman citizenship represented themselves in public monuments using Greek, not Latin. Therefore, it is more likely that the *cives Romani* of this monument refer to the *negotiatores* and that it dates to the years between 22-15 BC.[472]

The third inscription which names *negotiatores* was discovered in Salamis and has been loosely dated to the end of the first century BC to the first century AD.

Salamis Inscription (*Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 58):[473]

[– – –] et · deo [– – –]
[Rom]ani · qui · in Salam[ine]
[negot]iantur *vac.* sac[– – –]
[– –]ino . et . L. Caeli[o – –]

Stemma:

Line 1: [Veneri] et deo [Salaminio] *LBW*; [Caesari]? et deo [Salaminio]? Mitford‖ Line 2: cives Rom]ani qvi in Salam[ine *CIL*; *ICA*; Mitford ‖ Line 3: negot]iantur sac[rum *LBW* ; negot]iantvr sac[raverunt *CIL*; *ICA*; Mitford ‖ Line 4: ---ino et L. Caeli[o cur. ag.]? Mitford.

Translation:

[- - -] and to the god [- - -]
[Rom]an (citizens) who are engaged
[in business] in Sala[mis] sacred to (?)
[- -]inus and L. Caeli[us *cur. ag.*]?

The text of this inscription is extremely problematic because of its fragmentary nature. The present location of the stone itself is unknown and it is unclear what type of monument this would have been, therefore, only tentative ideas about features of the text can be suggested. The first problematic aspect of the text appears in line one. Several restorations

[471] *I.Paphos*, 405; cf. *I.Paphos*, no. 106.
[472] Cf. This study, chapter two, proconsul no. 43. Thomasson (1984), 301, no. 47.
[473] Other references: *LBW* III 2754; *CIL* 3.6051; *ICA* 8 (in *RDAC* 1969), 83; Cf. Mitford, (1980b), 277. Present Location: Unknown.

have favoured the idea that the monument could be dedicated to 'Deo Salaminie' along with another deity. Mitford offered a restoration of 'Caesari' in line one, over that of 'Veneri' as suggested by editors of *LBW*, because of the existence of an inscription from ancient Kition dedicated to Caesar (i.e. the divine Augustus), Zeus Keraunios, and Aphrodite.[474] The exact identity of 'Deo Salaminie' has been debated. It could be interpreted as Jupiter of Salamis – the Latin for Zeus Olympios as mentioned by Tacitus.[475] However, the editors of *Salamine de Chypre* XIII highlighted that 'Deo Salamine' is not paralleled anywhere in other inscriptions from Cyprus. *Salamine de Chypre* XIII also dismissed Mitford's restoration of 'Caesari', slightly favouring the restoration of 'Veneri'.[476] On the one hand, the presence of Aphrodite is difficult to justify because she was particularly associated with Paphos, which was famed as her place of birth and chief cult centre for her worship. It is also not implausible for inscriptions relating to the worship of Aphrodite to be discovered in the vicinity of Salamis.[477] The worship of Aphrodite was not limited to Paphos; the goddess was revered and worshipped across the island throughout its history.[478] An association of Aphrodite with Salamis is also known from the literary record, for instance *Homeric Hymn Ten* to Aphrodite refers to her ancient associations with Cyprus and describes her as the saviour or Queen of Salamis.[479] The Latin equivalent of Aphrodite, Venus, is also attested in an inscription from Amathous.[480]

The identification of 'Deo Salaminio' as the god of Salamis, or even as Jupiter of Salamis, is also problematic. Nevertheless, the pairing of 'Veneri' along with 'Deo Salaminio'

[474] Cf. Mitford (1980b), 284-5; *SEG* 30.1617; *I.Kition*, no. 2009; Kantiréa (2008), 102, no. 79; Fujii (2013), Kition no. 1.
[475] Tacitus, *Annales*, 3.62.4; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, 29.
[476] *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, 29.
[477] *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, 29.
[478] Cf. Karageorghis (2005).
[479] *Homeric Hymn* to Aphrodite 10.
[480] This study, chapter two, section **2.4.4**. **Amathous Inscription** (Hermary (1988/2), 102, no. 5).

is attractive; the antiquity and renown of these two deities were always regarded as important to the island's history, and were celebrated on coins from the Ptolemaic to the Roman period. Often the iconography of the ruling Emperor appeared on the obverse of coins, with an image of either the sanctuary of Paphian Aphrodite or the cult statue of Zeus Olympios of Salamis on the reverse.[481] (Figures Five and Six) If we are to imagine that the *negotiatores* chose to make a dedication which invoked two of the island's deities, why not make them the two most prominent on the island?

The restoration of line three of the inscription has also been highlighted as problematic. According the editors of *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, the ending of 'sac' could not be 'sacrum' as the text would require the full phrase 'sacrum fecerunt', which would not fit the stone.[482]

Finally, the restoration of the names in the last line of the inscription may also potentially assist with dating the inscription. Although fragmentary, the individuals in line four were identified as officers of the *negotiatores* by Mitford.[483] Nothing more is known about L. Caelius, other than that he was active during the first century BC.[484] It is possible that their inclusion served to emphasise their separateness of the *negotiatores* from the local community by expressing their status as Romans.

In general, the text of this inscription is reminiscent of the monument set up at the Sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia because of the way in which the *negotiatores* refer to themselves as *[cives Rom]ani qui ... [negoti]antur* and also because of the use of Latin to mark their identity as outsiders.

[481] Parks (2004), 165. For coins of the Roman period see Parks (2004) Figures 3.2a; 18.10b; 25.12a; 28.13a; 29.14a; 29.15a for examples of the sanctuary of Paphian Aphrodite. See Parks (2004) Figures 4.2b; 18.10c; 26.12b; 29.13b; 29.14b; 30.15b for examples of the cult statue of Zeus Olympios at Salamis. A coin of Drusus Caesar [Parks (2004) Figure 18.10a] depicts both the sanctuary and the cult statue on the reverse.
[482] *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, 29.
[483] Mitford (1980b), 277.
[484] *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, 29. Cf. *PIR*^{2} C 124.

In addition to these monuments which confirm the existence of Italians in Cyprus during the Roman Republic, are the monuments of Licinnia Agapomene, her daughters and their husbands, at the sanctuary of Paphian Aphrodite during the early empire. According to Mitford, Licinnia and her family were members of an Italian trading colony already established at Paphos under the Republic.[485] These have been studied extensively and will not be included in this study.[486] Mitford also connected the monuments of L. Avianius Flaccus of Kition with the trading community of Kition.[487] As an important trading hub of Cyprus, Kition was thought to have been dominated socially until the late first century AD by descendants of the original Roman business community who continued to reside there and even held civic offices.[488]

The monument of most interest is a marble statue base discovered south of the Salaminian agora dedicated to C. Iulius Nidas, who was also thought to have been associated with *negotiatores* in Roman Cyprus. The monument was erected by C. Iulius Chius and his wife, and freedwoman, Iulia Lampyris.

Salamis Inscription (*Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 103):[489]

[C. Iu]lium . Nidam . C . Iulius C[hius]
. .dnianus . et . Iulia . Lampyris . Chii
[U]xor . et . liberta . honoris . caussa
[Γάϊον] Ἰούλιον Νίδαν Γάϊος Ἰούλιος Χεῖος
[. . . δν]ιανὸς καὶ Ἰουλία Λαμπυρὶς γυνὴ Χε[ίου] 5.
[κα]ὶ ἀπελευθέρα τειμῆς χάρ[ιν].

[485] Mitford (1947), 226.
[486] For the most recent presentation of the inscriptions of Licinnia Agapomene cf. *I.Paphos*, nos. 118 and 119. *I.Paphos*, 267-70 also discusses the monuments and the stemma of the family.
[487] Mitford (1980a), 1297, footnote 36: cf. *LBW* III 2841; *I.Kition*, no. 2054.
[488] Mitford (1980b), 286.
[489] Other references: Tubbs (1891), 177, no. 6; *CIL* 3.12110; *IGR* III 996; Mitford (1980b), 276-7; *SEG* 30.1642; *ICA* 20 (in *RDAC* 1981), 190-1 b. Present Location: Unknown.

Translation:

(A statue of) [G(aius) Iu]lius Nidas (was set up by) G(aius) Iulius C[hius] [...]dnianus and Iulia Lampyris the [w]ife and freedwoman of Chius in recognition of (his) honour.
(A statue of) [Gaius] Iulius Nidas (was set up by) Gaius Iulius Chius [...dn]ianus and Iulia Lampyris wife of Chius and freedwoman in recognition of (his) honour.

The text of this monument bears many notable features. Firstly, the inscription is bilingual, which is unusual for monuments not set up officially in connection with Rome in Cyprus; the remainder of our evidence for the use of Latin and Greek side by side in inscriptions appears in public, official monuments such as building projects overseen by the proconsul, or milestones.[490] Often in these monuments the contents of the texts are not identical, but in this private monument the Greek and Latin convey the same meaning. The Latin has clearly been copied from the Greek; the honorand appears in the accusative which is not reflective of Latin epigraphic conventions.[491] The statue base had traces of footsteps imprinted into the base is significant here, for this indicates that the statue would have been made of metal, an expensive commodity.[492] Potter interpreted the use of Latin as an indication that Chius was proud of his citizenship.[493] It could be the case that the statue which accompanied this monument further emphasised the Roman citizenship of the honorand by depicting him in a toga.[494] Furthermore, the appearance of the word *caussa* is odd and appears to have been archaised. It has been suggested that these individuals, Chius and Nidas, were associated with the *Cives Romani Qui in Salamine Negotiantur* as they could have been agents.[495] Mitford explained these grants of *civitas* to these enterprising freedmen Nidas and Chius because of their services to Caesar at the time of his activity in the East, particularly

[490] Cf. This study, chapter two, section **2.4.4.**
[491] *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, 49.
[492] Mitford (1980b), 276; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, 48-9. Cf. Dillon 2010: 23-4 and footnote 86.
[493] Potter (2000), 831.
[494] Cf. Smith (1998), 64-5.
[495] Mitford (1980b), 277; Potter (2000), 831.

during his dangerous winter of 48-7 BC in Alexandria.[496] The cities of Paphos, Salamis, and Kition may have been of small service to him during this time.[497] The editors of *Salamine de Chypre* XIII considered this theory as unsupported based on the interpretation of their names alone.[498]

Whatever the social context, it can be noted that this monument reflects social mobility in Cyprus; clearly, because of his marriage to a former slave, Chius was not of very high standing.[499] Mitford interpreted the names of all individuals in the inscription as indicative of their servile origins.[500] Again, the editors of *Salamine de Chypre* XIII disputed such an interpretation of the names of these people and the assumption that they were of servile origin.[501] The fragmentary name in line two is given as '-dnianus' by the editors of *Salamine de Chypre* XIII; they note that another reasonable reading of this name could be '-onianus', and even suggest the full name of 'Cadmianus' though it is improbable.[502] Despite this, we can deduce that he was of some wealth, otherwise he would not have been able to afford a statue of Nidas.[503] The relationship of Nidas with Chius and his wife is not clear, though it is possible that he was their son as he bears the name 'Iulius' too.[504] Not only does this monument boast the social mobility of Gaius Iulius Nidus, Gaius Iulius Chius ...ndianus, and Iulia Lampyris, but the appearance of the two languages side by side would have added further depth to the message of this monument. It would not have mattered whether the intended audience could read the text or not; they would have recognised the use of the two

[496] Mitford (1980b), 277.
[497] Mitford (1980b), 277, 280, 286.
[498] *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, 49.
[499] Potter (2000), 831.
[500] Mitford (1980b), 275-6.
[501] *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, 48.
[502] *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, 48.
[503] Potter (2000), 831.
[504] *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, 48.

different languages side by side.[505] The only other known instance of a bilingual monument set up for, or by, a private individual is a funerary monument of Iulia Donata, another freedwoman. Whether the decision to set up a bilingual monument was deliberate on the part of freedmen and freedwomen, to express a particular identity, in Roman Cyprus is impossible to consider fully because of the paucity of the evidence.

Kition Inscription (*I.Kition*, no. 2093):[506]

Iulia · Olum-
pi · l(iberta) · Donata
h(ic) · s(ita) · est

Ἰουλία Ὀλύμπου ἀπε–
λευθέρα Δωνᾶτα 5.
χρηστὴ χαῖρε.

Translation:

Iulia Donata
f(reedwoman)
of Olympus
lies here.

Iulia Donata
(freedwoman) of Olympus
(the) honourable, farewell.

3.2.2. Initial conclusions.

A re-examination of the evidence concerning the Italian trading communities in Cyprus offers further insight into the existing picture of their activities, integration, and identity in Cyprus. Unlike the evidence from Delos, the evidence from Cyprus tells us little about the place of origin or ethnicity of the *negotiatores* operating across the island. Like the evidence from Delos, the Cypriot inscriptions are examples of formal and contrived

[505] Without image or squeeze it is impossible to see how prominent or emphasised some of the characters may have been.
[506] Other references: *CIL* 3.6731; *IGR* III 983; Myres (1914), 324, 551, no. 1927; *ICA* 20 (in *RDAC* 1981), 190 a. Present Location: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv. no. 74.51.2393.

bilingualism as opposed to informal practices.[507] Nevertheless, the evidence is significant for considering the public use of bilingualism, and particularly Latin, in a Greek-speaking region in the late Hellenistic period. The language choices and epigraphic conventions used by the *negotiatores* are revealing of how they wished to be perceived as 'outsiders'.

The languages of the three inscriptions - two in Latin and the third in Latin and Greek - reveal something about the conscious choice of speakers to emphasise both their separateness and integration in a Greek-speaking region. The two monuments from Nea Paphos and Palaipaphos demonstrate a very conscious display of identity and power by the *negotiatores*. The statue base from Nea Paphos is remarkable because it expresses an absolute separateness from the local community in which the *negotiatores* were operating. The *negotiatores* are projecting an identity which shows them to be outsiders in Cyprus as they align themselves with Roman practices and ideals. In some ways, the monument serves to remind the local community at Nea Paphos that the *negotiatores* were not only outsiders but that they were Roman citizens and perhaps would have had a very different relationship to the proconsul than the local community of Cypriots would have had. On the other hand, the monument from Palaipaphos shows that the *negotiatores* were also integrated into the local community because of its observance of local customs by bearing a dedication to Paphian Aphrodite and the use of Greek. Similar themes can be noted in this monument as with the statue base from Salamis. The inscription does not show a complete separateness from the local Salaminian community as it is also possibly invokes the gods of Cyprus, including Salamis' chief deity, though this is uncertain. In all examples, the use of Latin can be seen as a contrived linguistic strategy to distinguish themselves from the local community. The

[507] Adams (2003), chapter six.

location of the monuments and the invocation of local gods also demonstrates their integration.

In general, following the early Empire, there is very little evidence that Romans of wealth and influence either acquired lands or settled in Cyprus.[508] In general, it is thought that 'Romans', or at least wealthy individuals from Italy, had very little interest in the island because it had very little to offer them.[509] Few funerary monuments of individuals from outside Cyprus show the presence of foreigners on the island. It is unclear why some individuals were in Cyprus and what their interests and relationships were.[510]

3.2.3. High-profile visitors.

Chapter two highlighted that the initial administration of Roman Cyprus overseen by notable Roman politicians: for example, Cato; P. Lentulus Spinther; Cicero; P. Pacquius Scaeva. Out of this list, only Scaeva could be suggested as setting foot on the island. Following the settlement of Cyprus in 22 BC Roman proconsuls were not as high-profile. Despite this, some notable proconsuls known from the epigraphic record include, A. Plautus, Sergius Paullus, C. C. Flaccus, Audius Bassus, and Titus Clodius Eprius Marcellus.[511] Literary evidence provides us with information of other famous or significant individuals associated with the island in the Roman period. These include: Alexandra, daughter of Phascelos, the father-in-law of Herod, who married a Cypriot called Timon;[512] Sergius Paullus - proconsul converted to Christianity by St. Paul and Barnabas (who was from

[508] Mitford (1980a) 1297.
[509] Mitford (1980a), 1297.
[510] Cf. This chapter, section **3.1. Amathous Inscription** (*ICA* 33 (in *RDAC* 1994), 186, no. 20) and **Amathous Inscription:** (*ICA* 11 (in *RDAC* 1972), 260-1, no. 21).
[511] Cf. Nicolaou (1986), 436.
[512] Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae*, 18.130-2; Nicolaou (1986), 435.

Salamis); Artemion leader of the Jewish uprising;[513] the physician Galen visited the mines of Soloi in AD 166; the usurper Calocaerus;[514] and Iulius Avitus sent by Caracalla in AD 215 to Cyprus, where he died.[515]

As the leading citizen of the Empire, the Emperor of Rome could be considered the most important visitor that a province could receive. Mitford and Nicolaou suggested that both Trajan and Hadrian, as Emperors, visited Cyprus, though this is now highly doubted as it is not supported by any secure evidence.[516] Fujii has recently suggested an interesting interpretation of the monument of Trajan, set up by Hadrian at the sanctuary that prompted Mitford to suggest the imperial visit. Fujii observes that the incorrect titles conferred on Hadrian in the inscription suggest that the statue of Trajan could have been set up by the city of Kourion or an individual not familiar with the official titles of Hadrian in place of Hadrian or to give the illusion that the Emperor had paid a visit to the sanctuary of Apollo Hylates.[517] It remains the case that no Roman Emperor is known to have set foot on Cyprus for certain. Nevertheless, epigraphic evidence attests the commemoration of another Marcia, first cousin of Augustus, at the sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia at Palaipaphos. Although he was not emperor at the time of his visit, Titus' tour of the Sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia and his consultation with the priest Sostratos in AD 69 is documented both by Suetonius and Tacitus.[518] Epigraphic evidence for other high-profile visitors include: L. Avianus Flaccus,[519]

[513] Cassius Dio, 68.32.2-3.
[514] Aurelius Victor, *Liber de Caesaribus*, 41.11.
[515] Cassius Dio, 79.30.2-4. Cf. Mitford (1980a), 1298, no. 44; Nicolaou (1986), 436.
[516] *I.Kourion*, nos. 85 and 111; Nicolaou (1986), 436. See Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1973b), 223-4, 240 and Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1974) 188-95 on the 'romanticised' visits of these emperors. Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1974), 192 suggest that if Trajan did visit the sanctuary of Apollo Hylates at Kourion, that it would have been after the completion of the paving in the sanctuary, recorded in *I.Kourion*, no. 111, and not before as suggested by Mitford, *I.Kourion*, 218.
[517] Fujii (2013) Kourion no. 12. Cf. Fujii (2013), 55, footnote 97: in the inscription Hadrian is given the title Germanicus which he did not retain.
[518] Tacitus, *Historiae*, 2.2-4 and Suetonius, *Divus Titus*, 5. For a recent discussion of Titus' visit cf. Kantiréa (2007b).
[519] Cicero, *Ad Familiares*, 13.35 = *SB* 306. Cf. Mitford (1980a), 1297; Mitford (1980b), 285, and footnote 58.

friend of Cicero and L. Pontius Alefanus, friend of Pliny the Younger, and the famous poet Nestor of Laranda.[520] Of most interest to this discussion are the monuments of Marcia, Nestor of Laranda and his patron Sergia Aurelia Regina.

3.2.4. Marcia, first cousin of Caesar God Augustus.

A plaque dedicated to Marcia, first cousin of the Emperor Augustus, from the Sanctuary of Paphian Aphrodite at Palaipaphos may not appear to be remarkable as first glance.

Palaipaphos Inscription (Fujii (2013) Paphos Vetus no. 4):[521]

Μαρκίαι Φιλίππου θυγατρί, ἀνεψιᾶι
Καίσαρος θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, γυναικὶ
Παύλου Φαβίου Μαξίμου, Σεβαστῆς
Πάφου ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος.

Translation:

To Marcia, daughter of Philippus, first cousin[522]
of Caesar God Augustus, wife
of Paullus Fabius Maximus,
the *boule* and *demos* of Sebaste Paphos (set up this monument).

This monument would not have appeared out of place as the sanctuary was heavily adorned with statues of the emperor and his household. Statue bases illustrate how members of Augustus' household were commemorated at the sanctuary with statues, for example, Agrippa, Livia and even a statue to commemorate the marriage of Tiberius and Julia.[523] The

[520] Cf. This study, chapter two, section **2.4.4**. **Nea Paphos Inscription** (*I.Paphos*, no. 237) and chapter three, section **3.2.5**. **Palaipaphos Inscription** (*I.Paphos*, no. 126).
[521] Other references: *IGR* III 939; *OGIS* II 581; *ILS* 8811; *SEG* 41.1480; *I.Paphos*, no. 149. Cf. *PIR* II, 340 no. 184. 48 no. 38; Corbier (1991), 655-701. Present Location: Unknown?
[522] *I.Paphos*, no. 149 translates ἀνεψιᾶι as niece.
[523] Monuments to the Imperial household at the sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia include:
[A] A monument to Agrippa: Mitford (1961b), 105, footnote 47; *I.Paphos*, no. 142.

motivation of the *boule* and *demos* of Paphos choose to erect a monument to Marcia is clear. Not only was she the daughter of Philippus (step-brother to the Emperor Augustus) and the wife of the proconsul of Asia, Paullus Fabius Maximus, but she was the first cousin of Augustus. It is not unreasonable to think that she visited the sanctuary during her tour of the east, when her husband, Paullus Fabius Maximus, was proconsul of Asia Minor. Her visit to the sanctuary, if it did take place, would have emphasised the importance of the sanctuary not only across the island, but in the region of the Eastern Mediterranean. If the visit did not take place, the setting up of a monument to her by the *boule* and *demos* of Paphos is also a powerful indication of the ties and links that the Paphians wished to make with Rome in order to boost their status. To the Paphians, this was an advert of the draw of their great goddess, so it was in their favour to promote what could be loosely described as an 'imperial' visit. Certain details of the text of the monument provide indicators as to how the city of Paphos chose to represent Marcia and celebrate her close ties to Augustus. It appears that, as speakers, the *demos* and *boule* of Paphos used this monument to emphasise their ties with Rome. Although the text of the inscription is in Greek, Marcia's name appears in the dative case in line one. It has been suggested that because this case was commonly used in Greek inscriptions when naming deities, that when it was used for mortals that it carried connotations of divinity.[524] This could be a deliberate linguistic strategy employed by the *boule* and *demos* of Paphos because of her close connection with the Emperor Augustus.

[B] A monument to Julia as the wife of Agrippa: Hogarth, James, et al. (1888), nos. 69 and 70 *IGR* III 940; *I.Paphos*, no. 143; Fujii (2013) Paphos Vetus no. 1.
[C] Augustus: *I.Paphos*, no. 144.
[D] A statue to Livia as Aphrodite (?) by Paphos: Hogarth, James, et al. (1888), no.61; Mitford (1947), no.11; *SEG* 30.1632; *SEG* 54.1557; *I.Paphos*, no. 145; Fujii (2013) Paphos Vetus no. 3.
[E] A monument naming Livia: Hogarth, James, et al. (1888), no. 14; Mitford (1947) 214-5, no. 5; *IGR* III 948; *SEG* 54.1557; *I.Paphos*, no. 152; Fujii (2013) Paphos Vetus no. 7.
[F] A monument to Tiberius and Julia possibly on the occasion of their marriage between 11-2 BC: Hogarth, James, et al. (1888), no.116; *IGR* III 943; Mitford (1947), no.12; Mitford (1980a), 1311, footnote 89; *I.Paphos*, no. 146; Fujii (2013) Paphos Vetus no. 2.
[524] Stewart (2003), 167.

Furthermore, the appearance of the text on the stone emphasises the names of Marcia, Caesar Augustus, and Paullus Fabius Maximus as they are positioned at the beginning of lines one, two, and three. It seems that Marcia's relationship as cousin, ἀνεψιᾶι, precedes her position as a wife. The commemoration of Marcia and her relationship to Augustus shows Paphos to be conscious of emphasising its connections with outsiders.[525]

3.2.5. Nestor of Laranda.

Lucius Septimius Nestor of Laranda was a celebrated poet, particularly known for composing a lippogrammatic version of the *Iliad*.[526] Two monuments from the Sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia commemorate this poet and his patroness Sergia Aurelia Regina.[527] The dedication to Nestor set up at the sanctuary could imply that he was active in Cyprus, perhaps residing there for a while. Sergia Aurelia Regina was a self-styled *femina consularis* and known only from three inscriptions, two from the Sanctuary of Paphian Aphrodite at Palaipaphos and one from the Sanctuary of Apollo Hylates at Kourion where she was commemorated as a patron by two freedwomen.[528] She is unique in being a Roman citizen other than the Emperor, a member of the Imperial household, or a member of the Roman administration known to be commemorated in more than one city in Cyprus. Sergia Aurelia Regina was descended from the *Sergii*, an illustrious family from Southern Anatolia, whose connections with Cyprus are attested in the early Empire.[529] The monuments of individuals

[525] For a comparative monument to Marcia cf. *ILS* 7421; *CIL* 6.7884.
[526] For a recent comprehensive study of the poet see Ma (2007b).
[527] Monuments naming Nestor are known from across the Empire including Ephesus, Kyzikos, and Ostia: Barbieri (1953); Guarducci (1977); Ma (2007b) presents all of the known inscriptions.
[528] For the monuments of Sergia Aurelia Regina set up by her freedwomen at Kourion (a fragmentary grey marble tablet) cf. *I.Kourion*, 182, no. 98. Present Location: Episkopi Museum, Cyprus. Inv. no. I 127 (*a.b*), I 169 (*c*).
[529] Potter (2000), 793, 830-1; Ma (2007b), 105.

thought to be her relatives, a Sergia Demetria and an L. Sergius C. Arrianus, have been discovered at Nea Paphos and at the sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia respectively.[530]

Sergia Aurelia Regina's dedication to Nestor at the Sanctuary of Paphian Aphrodite at Palaipaphos, a pedestal dated to the late second century AD to early third century AD, is unproblematic.

Palaipaphos Inscription (*I.Paphos*, no. 126):[531]

Ἀφροδείτηι Παφίαι.
Νέστορα τῆι Παφίηι τὸν ἀοίδιμον, ἡ φιλόμουσ[ος]
Ῥηγῖνα, σθεναρῶν ἐξ ὑπάτων ὑπάτη.

Translation:

To Aphrodite Paphia
Regina, lover of the Muses, *femina consularis* of mighty consular stock, (has set up a statue of) Nestor famous in song, to the Paphian (goddess).

In this inscription she represents herself as the benefactor with σθεναρῶν ἐξ ὑπάτων ὑπάτη in line three. Fraser noted that this does more than allude to her unique title as a *femina consularis*. It is a poetical expression and Fraser read a double entendre which is explained in the following way. The phrase σθεναρῶν ἐξ ὑπάτων refers to Regina as ὑπάτικη and no other instance is known of an adjective or ὑπάτη being used in the same sense. The repetition of the word at the end of the line could be paralleled by a term familiar in ancient musical theory. ὑπάτη ὑπάτων is read by Fraser to mean the highest string of a lyre, using the tetrachord system:

[530] Cf. *I.Paphos*, nos. 125 and 252.
[531] Other references: Hogarth, James et al. (1888), 246, no. 86; *IGR* III 958; Fraser (1984), 278-9; *SEG* 34.1426; Ma (2007b), 91-2, no. 3. Present Location: Kouklia Museum, Cyprus, KM 32.

‘It is to this musical system that Regina is clearly reflecting in her dedication. She is not only sprung from mighty consular stock, she is also ‘the highest of the scale’’.[532]

The sophisticated, musical metaphor may allude to her place in the musical world as an amateur player of the lyre.[533] The second inscription from the sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia partially records Sergia's activities.

Palaipaphos Inscription (Ma (2007b), 92, no. 3):[534]

Ἀφροδείτῃ Παφί[ᾳ]
vacat
[Σεργίαν] Αὐρηλ[ία]ν Ῥηγεῖ[ναν]
[τὴν] ὑπατικὴν
[Νέστ]ωρ ὁ [ποιητὴς τ]ὴν εὐεργ[έτιν] 5.

Stemma:

Line 2: . . . Ῥηγεῖ- Sakellarios I^2 ‖ [- - - - - - - - ?- - - - - - - - - - - -] *I.Paphos*
Line 3: Ῥηγεῖ- Hogarth, James, et al. ׀׀ ναν τὴν] ὑπατικὴν Sakellarios I^2 ‖ ΛΙΛΙΑ...Ν *IGR* ׀׀ [Σεργίαν Αὐρη]λ[ί]αν (?) Ῥηγε[ῖναν] *I.Paphos*
Line 4: ναν τὴν] ὑπατικὴν Hogarth, James, et al. ׀׀ εὐεργεσίας Sakellarios I^2 ׀׀[— — —]PP̣O[— — —]HN *IGR* ׀׀[τῆν] ὑπατικήν*, I.Paphos*
Line 5: εὐεργεσίας Hogarth, James, et al. ׀׀ εὐεργ[εσίας] *IGR* ‖ [- - - -]PP̣O[- - - - - - τ]ὴν εὐεργ[έτιν]. *I.Paphos*

N.B. Restoration offered by *I.Kourion*, 183-4, footnote. 1 [*BE* (1972), 513, no. 585] without linebreaks:
Ἀφροδείτῃ Παφί[α' ׀Σεργίαν] Αὐρηλ[ία]ν Ῥηγεῖ[ναν] ὑπατικήν [Νέστ]ωρ ὁ [ἀοιδὸς τ]ὴν εὐεργ[έτιν].

Translation:

To Aphrodite Paphi[a]
vacat
[Sergia Aure]l[ia] Regi[na]
femina consularis
[Nest]or the [poet] (set this monument up), benefactor.

[532] Fraser (1984), 279; Ma (2007b), 92.
[533] Fraser (1984), 279.
[534] Other references: Hogarth, James, et al. (1888), 253, no. 113; *IGR* III 959; Cf. *I.Kourion*, 183-4, footnote 1; *BE* (1972), 585; *I.Paphos*, no. 127. Present Location: Lost, squeeze consulted.

The inscription is on a badly damaged re-used pink pedestal (the earlier inscription has been dated to 222-209 BC).[535] This dedication to Sergia Aurelia Regina, whose identity is discernable from the fragmentary name in line three and her title of ὑπατικὴν in line four, in the early third century AD, may have been set up by Nestor. Cayla is the only scholar who has studied this monument who casts doubt on whether it was set up by the poet. He suggests that this may have been the case because the inscription is not written in verse.[536] While the name of Nestor has been almost fully restored in the final line of the inscription, it is the view of this study that the monument could have been set up by the poet to his benefactress and that the two monuments stood as a pair in the sanctuary. If this was the case, how these monuments appeared in the sanctuary can only be hazarded. While a statue of Nestor survives elsewhere in the Empire, the same cannot be said for Regina. For the image of Sergia, we should imagine that a statue representing her high status and modesty would have been likely and appropriate, though this was often combined with sculptural features which also portrayed women in public life as desirable and affluent.[537] The developments of female portraiture from the Classical period to the Roman period is highlighted by Sheila Dillon in her study of the 'not portrait' style of female portraiture in the Roman period.[538] Because of the association of Regina with the poet Nestor in the two monuments from the sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia, one cannot help wondering whether the third inscription discovered at the Sanctuary of Apollo Hylates at Kourion which also commemorates Sergia Aurelia Regina as a patron, was deliberately set up there to further emphasise her association with the arts because of Apollo's identity as a god of music. Collectively, these monuments could suggest

[535] Hogarth, James, et al. (1888), 252, no. 112.
[536] *I.Paphos*, 277.
[537] Smith (1999), 70; Dillon (2010) in general.
[538] Dillon (2010), 135-63.

that Sergia Aurelia Regina styled herself as a patron of the arts in Cyprus.[539] Sergia Aurelia Regina's dedication to Nestor presents her as a learned woman who was aware of poetry and music. Her status as a woman of consular rank indicates that she was visible in civic life, to a certain extent. The fragmentary nature of the evidence does not enable us to develop this idea further.[540]

3.2.6. Initial conclusions.

The monuments of Marcia and Nestor are reflective of Cyprus' appeal to outsiders, whether tourists, pilgrims, or entertainers. The island had much to offer to visitors with all kinds of interests.[541] The presentation of Marcia and Nestor are both remarkable as their monuments deliberately highlight and emphasise their status as outsiders. In the same spirit, the self presentation of insiders, in this case Sergia Aurelia Regina, is such that it emphasises her local position within the Cypriot community and her connections with an outsider in a humorous and sophisticated way. Sergia Aurelia Regina's activities, as a self-styled patron of the arts, can be considered as similar those of other leading citizens who contributed to the cultural scene of their cities.

3.3. Becoming 'Roman', Staying 'Cypriot'? The impact of Roman citizenship in Cyprus.

The second part of this chapter will compare select monuments of individuals and their families who were granted Roman citizenship in Cyprus. Evidence from the major cities of Paphos and Salamis will be presented to identify any similarities and differences in the

[539] Mitford (1980a), 1370.
[540] Cf. van Bremen (1996), 41-81 on women and public offices in the Greek East during the Roman period.
[541] Potter (2000), 840-1, 847-8.

pattern of commemoration. The way in which Roman citizens of Cyprus expressed their identity in monuments with high profile individuals who were not granted citizenship will then be briefly considered.

3.3.1. Evidence from Nea Paphos.

Several inscriptions attest the rise of a family granted citizenship, by the proconsul Gaius Ummidius Durmius Quadratus, and taking the name *Ummidii*.[542] The enfranchisement of this family by a proconsul is not an alien case. Eight inscriptions from Africa reveal further provincials who were granted citizenship by a proconsul and who took on the name of *Ummidii*.[543] Mitford suggested that we should in fact not be quick to assume that the *civitas* of the Paphian family was obtained in the year of the proconsulship of Gaius Ummidius Durmius Quadratus.[544] Their monuments have been studied at length: collectively there appears to be six inscriptions concerning this family. Three fragmentary monuments which have been identified as naming family members before citizenship was granted, and three inscriptions which demonstrate the activities of three generations following enfranchisement.[545] This study will consider the monuments of the family which show their

[542] Syme (1968), 73-5, 92; Corbier (1974), 44-50. Cf. also Syme (1979).
[543] Syme (1968), 92, and footnote 96: Three at *CIL* 8.14744=25612 (Bulla Regia); 6202 (Arsacal); 7537 (Cirta); at Gigthis: *CIL*. 8.28; *CIL*. 8.29; *CIL*. 8.30; *CIL* 8.22693; *CIL*. 8.22743. It is worth noting that all of these monuments are in Latin and display a very different expression of identity to the *Ummidii* of Paphos.
[544] Mitford (1980b), 282, footnote 45.
[545] Studied by Mitford (1980b); Fujii (2013), chapter six, 116-118 in particular; *I.Paphos*, 333-5, 413-6; Cayla (2004).
[A] Hogarth, James, et al. (1888), 254, no. 119; Mitford (1947), 228-30, no. 13 associated with family - restoration made by Mitford. Rhodokles - before enfranchised – *I.Paphos*, no. 170; Kantiréa (2008), 106; Fujii (2013) Paphos Vetus no. 6: states that this inscription is too fragmentary to be connected securely to the family.
[B] This study, chapter four, section **4.2.3.2. Palaipaphos Inscription** (Fujii (2013) Paphos Vetus no. 9).
[C] The inscription was provisionally presented and restored by Mitford (1980b), 282, footnote 43 and is also cited in Mitford (1980a), 1353, footnote 324; *SEG* 30.1629; *I.Paphos*, no. 173; Kantiréa (2008), 106; Fujii (2013), 116.
[D] This chapter, section **3.3.1**. **Palaipaphos Inscription** (*I.Paphos*, no. 172).
[E] This chapter, section **3.3.1**. **Palaipaphos Inscription** (Fujii (2013) Paphos Vetus no. 15).
[F] This chapter, section **3.3.1**. **Nea Paphos Inscription** (Fujii (2013) Paphos Nova no. 1).

activities as Roman citizens. The earliest of the three monuments was discovered at Nea Paphos.

Nea Paphos Inscription (Fujii (2013) Paphos Nova no. 1):[546]

[Γάιον Οὐ]μμίδιον Πάνταυχον [Κουα]–
[δρατιαν]όν, τὸν γυμνασιαρχή[σαντα]
[δρακτ]οῖς καὶ λουτῆρσι Νερ[ωνείοις]
[ἐκ τοῦ ἰ]δίου μέχρι νυκτός, [τὸν διὰ]
[βίου ἀρ]χιερέα, τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ κώ[μου ?], 5.
[Κλαυδ]ία Ἀπφά[ριον Τ]εύκρου θυ[γάτηρ],
[τὸν ἑ]αυτῆς υἱὸν μνήμης [χάριν].

Stemma:

Lines 1–2: [Γάϊον Οὐμ]μίδιον Πάνταυχο[ν τὸν καὶ (?)] ˡ [Τεῦκ(?)]ρον *ICA* ‖ Line 3: αμου τηρσινα [---] *ICA*; [- ? ὁλκεί]οις καὶ λουτῆρσι Νερ[ωνείων] *I.Paphos* ‖ Line 4: [– – α]ὐτ̣οῦ μέχρι νυκτὸς – –*ICA*; [τῶν ὑπ' α]ὐτοῦ μέχρι νυκτὸς [ἀχθέντω]ν *I.Paphos*. ‖ Line 5: [τὸν ἀρ]χιερέα, τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ κώ[---] *ICA*; [τὸν ἀρ]χιερέα, τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ κώ[μου] *I.Paphos*.

Translation:

[Gaius Um]midius Pantauchus [Quadratian]us
supplied as *gymna[siarch]*
[small vas]es and wash tubs for the *Ner[oneia]*
[out of] his own expense up to the night, [the
high] priest for life, the priest of the re[vel?],
[Claud]ia Appha[rion the daughter of T]euker (set up this monument)
[to] commemorate [he]r son.

This honorific inscription is a statue base of local gray marble and was found at Nea Paphos.[547] It is thought to be from the late reign of Nero and honours a Gaius Ummidius Pantauchos Quadratianus. Although heavily restored, the inscription tells us about the career of Gaius Ummidius Pantauchus Quadratianus and his role within the Paphian community. In

[546] Other references: Mitford (1980b), 282, footnote 46; *SEG* 30.1630; *ICA* 9 (in *RDAC* 1970), 154-6, no. 10; Kolb (2003), 244;. *I.Paphos*, no. 259; Kantiréa (2008), 106, no. 99; *BE* (1972), no. 576. Cf. Mitford (1980a), 1352, footnote 322. Present Location: Ktima Museum, Cyprus, inv. no. 1982 (M. P. 96/56/2 bl. 90).
[547] *ICA* 9 (in *RDAC* 1970), 154.

this inscription Claudia Appharion is emphatic that he is her son, perhaps indicating that she is his biological mother and the other female identified with the father of Gaius Ummidius Pantauchus Quadratianus in another monument was in fact his step mother.[548] The two remaining monuments were discovered at the sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia, Palaipaphos.

Palaipaphos Inscription (*I.Paphos*, no. 172):[549]

Ἀφροδίτηι Παφίαι.
Γάϊον Οὐμμίδιον Τηρητίνα Κουαδρᾶτον
τὸν ἀρχιερέα
τὸν καὶ Πανταυχιανὸν. Γαίου
Τηρητίνα
Οὐμμιδίου Πανταύχο<υ> υἱὸν.
τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ γυμνασιαρ–
χήσαντος. Κλαυδία Ἀπφάριον.
Τεύκρου θυγάτηρ. ἡ ἀρχιέρια τῶν
κατὰ Κύπρον Δήμητρος ἱερῶν.
τὸν ἑαυτῆς υἱωνόν. εὐνοίας
χάριν. ἔτους η′.

Stemma:

Line 2: Γάιον Οὐμίδιον Τηρητίνα Kolb || Line 6: Οὐμιδίου Kolb.

Translation:

To Aphrodite Paphia
Gaius Ummidius Quadratus of the voting-tribe *Teretina*
the high priest
and also known as Pantauchianus
Son of Gaius Ummidius Pantauchus
of the voting-tribe *Teretina*,
the high priest and *gymnasiarch*.
Claudia Appharion
daughter of Teuker, the high priestess of
all the temples of Demeter of Cyprus

[548] Cf. This section, **Palaipaphos Inscription** (Fujii (2013) Paphos Vetus no. 15).
[549] Other references: *CIG* II 2637; *LBW* III 2801; *IGR* III 950; Kolb (2003), 244; Cf. *SEG* 30.1630; Kantiréa (2008), 106, no. 100. cf. *PIR*[1] III, 468 no. 600; Mitford, (1980a), 1353-4; *SEG* 40.1319 and 1367; Fujii (2013) Paphos Vetus no. 16. Present Location: Unknown?

in recognition of goodwill (set up this monument) to her grandson in the eighth year.

The statue base was found reused in the Sanctuary of Aphrodite at Palaipaphos and the date of the inscription has been placed at around AD 88. This pedestal was set up to Gaius Ummidius Quadratus by his grandmother, Claudia Appharion.[550] The accusative case of Gaius Ummidius Quadratus' name confirms that a statue of him accompanied the inscription. In lines two to six his name is presented in great detail. Not only was he a Gaius Ummidius Quadratus, a Roman citizen, he was a high priest (τὸν ἀρχιερέα), he was also known as Pantauchianus, and he is the son of another Roman citizen, a Gaius Ummidius Pantauchus. It is interesting to observe that emphasis is placed on the multiple names of the honorand with the use of τὸν καὶ at the beginning of line four. This small feature is significant as it suggests a reluctance to abandon the Cypriot identity established through the wider reaching ties of this local family and also shows an attempt at retaining the multiple names of the individual. Finally, it is of great significance that he is named as belonging to a voting-tribe of Rome, the *Teretina*. The inclusion of this detail in the text further emphasises the status and privileges that this individual would have enjoyed as a Roman citizen. Taylor stated that the tribe, in the abbreviated form, was an essential part in every Roman citizen's name as the tribes played an important part in Roman civil life:[551]

'It was by tribe that the census was taken, and by the tribes through the census that the citizen army was recruited and the citizen tax was collected. Originally the tribes were not voting districts, but they acquired that status in the first half-century of the republic, and that was their major function at the end of the republic.'

[550] *I.Paphos*, 80: suggests that the name of Claudia Appharion implies that she was not from Cyprus.
[551] Taylor (1960), 3.

However, one has to question the relevance or indeed significance of emphasising the belonging to a Roman tribe to a newly enfranchised local Cypriot family in the Roman Empire. Whether the voting rights of a newly enfranchised Cypriot held any significance or whether it included as a symbol of Roman identity which emphasised the distinction of being a Roman citizen.

The next section of the text includes details about Claudia Appharion, her titles, and lineage is presented in considerable detail too. Not only is she named as the daughter of Teuker, a name with a significant religious connection which evokes Teuker - the founder of Salamis, but she is also specifically named as the high priestess of all the temples of Demeter across Cyprus.[552] It is clear from this inscription that Claudia Appharion was keen to advertise the full names, and the rights associated with them, of her son and grandson as well as maintaining their Cypriot identities through familial ties which reflected their position in the local community.

The second monument from the sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia at Palaipaphos also details other members of this family.

Palaipaphos Inscription (Fujii (2013) Paphos Vetus no. 15):[553]

Ἀφροδίτῃ Παφίαι
Γάϊον Οὐμμίδιον Πάνταυ–
χον Κουαδρατιανὸν ἀρχιε–
ρέα Γάϊος Οὐμμίδιος Κουαδρᾶτος
καὶ Κλαυδία Ῥοδοκλεία ἀρχιέρεια
τὸν υἱόν.

[552] Cf. Mitford (1947), 230 which places a 'Teukros' at the head of the stemma. For the significance of the names of founders of Cypriot *poleis* cf. Hornblower (2010) on the name of Praxandros in a syllabic inscription of Cyprus.
[553] Other references: Hogarth, James, et al. (1888), 237, no. 41; *IGR* III 951; *BE* (1949), 216; Kantiréa (2008), 106, no. 98; *I.Paphos*, 333, no. 171. Present Location: Unknown?

Translation:

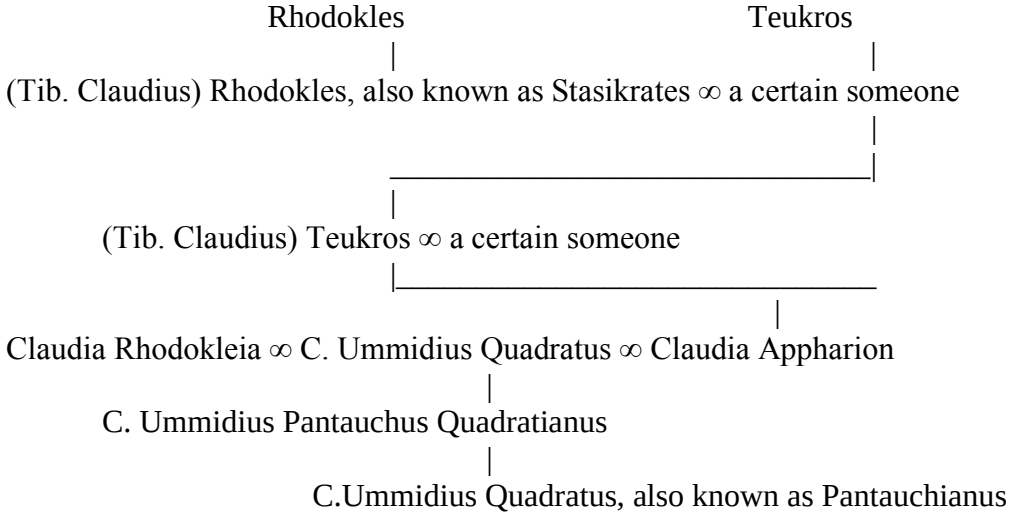
To Aphrodite Paphia
(To) Gaius Ummidius Pantauchus
Quadratianus high priest
Gaius Ummidius Quadratus
and Claudia Rhodokleia high priestess, to their son.

This statue base of bluish marble found reused in a pavement in the Sanctuary of Aphrodite at Palaipaphos. The inscription has been placed between the dates AD 50-100 and is dedicated in honour of Gaius Ummidius Pantauchus Quadratianus, a high priest.[554] Gaius Ummidius Quadratus and Claudia Rhodokleia, a high priestess, the parents of Gaius Ummidius Pantauchos Quadratianus were responsible for the dedication of this monument. Like the previously discussed monument, the inscription uses the nominative and accusative cases to clarify who is dedicating the monument and who the statue would have represented.

Collectively the inscriptions of this Paphian family are of great importance when considering the expression of Roman citizenship, identity, and family ties in Paphos. The stemma of this family has been recently reorganised by Fujii and his version of the stemma correctly shows that Claudia Appharian and Claudia Rhodoklea were different people, and not the same person as initially suggested by Mitford.[555]

[554] Cf. *SEG* 40.1319.
[555] For discussion of the relationship of the individuals named in the monuments cf. *I.Paphos*, 326-9; Cayla (2004); Kantiréa (2008), 105-7; Fujii (2013), 118, and footnote 16.

Fujii (2013), 108-9:



The *-ianus* in the names of Gaius Ummidius Pantauchus Quadratianus and Gaius Ummidius Quadratus, also known as Pantauchianus is interesting to note.While many types of names are attested as adoptive during the Republic and early empire,[556] it is well known that adoptees used the name of their adoptive parent(s) with the corruption *–ianus* in their *tria nomina*.[557] If this was not formed from the *cognomen*, it was at least during the Empire often formed from the maternal *nomen*.[558] In this case, the *–ianus* does not denote an actual adoption of the Cypriot family into that of the *Ummidii*; instead it demonstrated the adoption of the name only through the granting of *civitas*.[559] The phenomenon of adoption was not a novelty in antiquity, whether it was an individual being directly adopted into a family or a notable family from the provinces adopting the name of a family of important standing but not seeming to have direct or prolonged, meaningful contact with the adoptive family.[560]

[556] Cf. Salomies (1992), 11-2.
[557] Cf. Corsten (2010).
[558] Salomies (1992), 61.
[559] Syme (1968), 92; Mitford (1980a), 1305.
[560] Syme (1968), 84.

The variety of the inscriptions discovered from the Sanctuary of Aphrodite demonstrates that commemorative and honorific statues and inscriptions were set up as a means of self promotion or celebrating personal advancement from the Ptolemaic period and that the practice was not exclusive to the Roman period; the sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia was *the* place to be seen.[561] The inscriptions are in Greek, use Greek epigraphic conventions and in some cases are set up in a particular local environment, the celebrated birthplace of Aphrodite. With the emphatic expression of the family ties, religious and civic roles in the wider community and in particular the name of the *Ummidii*, it seems that this particular elite family was keen to advertise their new status as Roman citizens and connections with Roman aristocracy.

3.3.2. Evidence from Salamis.

While the *Ummidii* of Paphos dominated the religious and social scene during the first century AD, inscriptions from Salamis inform us of the activities of two other prominent families. A certain Hyllos and his descendents are noteworthy, along with the monuments which record a Servius Sulpicius Pankles Veranianus and his family during the first century AD. Furthermore, the intermarriage of members of these families suggests the way in which Roman citizenship was strengthened in some communities. The activites of these families have been studied extensively in recent years and for this reason this investigation will refrain from recounting all of their monuments, many of which are in an extremely fragmentary condition.[562] Instead particular features of some of the monuments will be highlighted and only one monument will be discussed in detail.

[561] Kolb (2003).
[562] Potter (2000), 814, 825, 829; Fujii (2013), 118-20.

In brief, the monuments of Hyllos and his descendants reveal that the family were prominent in Salaminian society from the early Empire, but they were granted Roman citizenship until the second half of the first century AD.[563] The self representation of members of this family emphasised the high social standing of its leading male members and the positions they held as leaders in local cults and in worship of the Emperor.[564] It is also interesting to note that two monuments of this family show evidence of *damnatio memoriae*, suggesting that some members of the family fell out of favour and then later their fortunes changed.[565] An early Flavian inscription praising a Ti. Claudius Heracleides, son of Ti. Claudius Mentor and his wife Claudia Veraniana, daughter of Ti. Claudius Menodorus is known from Salamis and confirms the eventual enfranchisement of the members of Hyllos' family, and intermarriage with the family of Servius Sulpicius Pankles Veranianus.[566] Mitford suggested that the moment of this family's enfranchisement possibly occurred during the later years of Nero's reign and connects the descendents of Hyllos as being prominent in

[563] Mitford (1980b), 278.

[564] [A] Tubbs (1891), 195-6, no. 53; *IGR* III 994; *OGIS* II 582; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 101; Fujii (2013) Salamis no. 2.
[B] Interpreted by Mitford as a monument of Hyllos – Salamine and Fujii more careful: *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 131; Mitford (1980b), 278, and footnote 14. *CIG* II 2630; *IGR* III 997; Mitford (1947), 222-5, no. 9; *BE* (1949), 217; *I.Salamis*, 130, no. 5; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 131; Kantiréa (2008), 93-5; *AnnEp* (2008), no. 1514; Fujii (2013) Salamis nos. 3a and 3b.
[C] Another extremely fragile restoration made by Mitford: Tubbs (1891), 174, no. 10; *GIBM* IV 979; Mitford (1980b), 278, footnote 15; *SEG* 30.1641; *SEG* 40.1373; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 26.
[D] Mitford (1980b), 278, and footnote 16. For the inscription: *I.Salamis*, no. 100; Mitford (1980b), 278, footnote 16; *SEG* 30.1641; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 102; Fujii (2013) Salamis no. 6.
[E] *I.Salamis*, no. 11; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 136; Fujii (2013) Salamis no. 9.
[F] Tubbs (1891), 184, no. 22; *GIBM* IV 982; *IGR* III 986; Mitford (1946), 212; Mitford (1947), 220-2; *BE* (1949), 217; Mitford (1980b), 278, footnote 18; *SEG* 30.1646; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 135; Kantiréa (2008), 110; Fujii (2013) Salamis no. 8.

[565] [A] Tubbs (1891), 195-6, no. 53; *IGR* III 994; *OGIS* II 582; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 101; Fujii (2013) Salamis no. 2. [B] *I.Salamis*, no. 100; Mitford (1980b), 278, footnote 16; *SEG* 30.1641; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 102; Fujii (2013) Salamis no. 6.

[566] Mitford (1980b), 278, and footnote 19. Cf. Mitford (1950b), 8, no. 4; *I.Salamis*, 149. For Mitford the equation of these enfranchised Cypriots with the Heracleides and Mentor attested in an inscription of 60/61 AD need not be questioned. [G] Mitford (1950b), 8-10, no. 4; *I.Salamis*, no. 111 a; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 118.

Salamis during his reign.[567] Like the monuments of the *Ummidii* of Paphos, this inscription displays a careful advertisement of becoming Roman whilst staying Cypriot. It details the full name and voting tribe of the individual honoured and the familial ties of the people named.

The monuments of Servius Sulpicius Pankles Veranianus and his family have attracted much attention, not only for their quantity in Salamis, but also because of their content. Unlike the monuments of the *Ummidii* of Paphos and Hyllos of Salamis, no monument of Pankles appears to have survived before his enfranchisement and so it is impossible to decipher what his connections were prior to this advance in status and how he, and members of his family, projected their identities prior to their status as Roman citizens. It is thought that he was enfranchised during the brief reign of Galba.[568] His family may have originated from Lycia-Pamphylia where several other *Sulpicii* are known.[569] Servius Sulpicius Pankles Veranianus and his family may have been connected to the descendents of Hyllos through the marriage between Sergia Phila, daughter of Sulpicius Pankles, and Tiberius Claudius Mentor, a descendant of Hyllos.[570] Regardless of their familial relationships, it is evident that these two leading families dominated religious and political life in Salamis during the first century AD.[571] Although the editors of *Salamine de Chypre* XIII considered the creation of a stemma in *I.Salamis* for this family as bold, this study will present a revised version of the stemma at the end of this chapter.[572] This is not intended to be a concrete restoration of the familial relationships of the families of Hyllos and Pankles but an interpretation that takes into account the fragile restoration of some of the inscriptions.

[567] Mitford (1980b), 278, and footnote 19. Mitford (1980b), 278-9, and footnote 20: Under Nero, Salamis was furnished with an aqueduct and the Emperor was thanked by the city. Cf. *SEG* 23.675. A Neronian aqueduct is commemorated at Soloi on the west of the island, though the exact date of the aqueduct is unknown
[568] Mitford (1980b), 279; Fujii (2013), 119.
[569] Potter (2000), 830; Fujii (2013), 119.
[570] Mitford (1980b), 279, and footnote 23; Kantiréa (2008), 107; and Fujii (2013), 119.
[571] For the family of Servius Sulpicius Pankles Veranianus Cf. *I.Salamis*, 131-53; Mitford (1980b), 279; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, 49-55; Kantiréa (2008), 107-11; Fujii (2013), 118-9.
[572] Cf. *I.Salamis*, 153; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII 49-51.

Two monuments record the construction, or reconstruction, of the theatre at Salamis by Pankles and so it is unsurprising that many of the inscriptions dedicated to him and his family were mostly discovered in the ruins of the theatre or nearby.[573] Along with his other benevolent acts, it seems that Pankles was a man of great wealth, and that he boosted the infrastructure and facilities of Salamis. He made a considerable impact on his home city and this is evident from the number of monuments set up to him by other enfranchised locals and non citizens who wished to display their connections with him. It is worth noting that the surviving evidence for Pankles record monuments set up in his honours by others, only one may possibly be a monument which he set up himself, though it is in such a fragmentary state it is impossible to tell.[574] Because of the fragmentary nature of many of these monuments, and the fact that much of the material from the theatre was later re-used to build the Christian Basilica when Salamis became Constantia,[575] it is possible that many inscriptions have been lost or destroyed. The most interesting monument was set up by his friend and it reads like a Roman *cursus honorum*.

Salamis Inscription (*Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 106):[576]

[Σέρουιον Σουλπίκ]ιον Παγκλέ[α]
[Οὐηρανιανόν, τὸ]ν εἰς αἰῶνα γυμν[ασίαρ]-
[χον καὶ ἀγ]ωνοθέτην ἐκ τῶν ἰδ[ίων, τὸν]
[κατασκ]ευάσαντα τὸ θέατρον κα[ὶ τὸ γυμ]-
[νάσιο]ν σὺν τοῖς ἐν αὐτῷ Σεβα[στῶν] 5.
[χρυσ]είοις ἀγάλμασιν καὶ τὸ παρα[κεί]-
[μεν]ον ἀμφιθέατρον ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίο[υ, καὶ]

[573] For example, [A] This chapter, section **3.3.2**. **Salamis Inscription** (*Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 106); [B] *I.Salamis*, no. 101 h; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 112.
[574] *I.Salamis*, no. 103; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII no. 113. It is possible that this monument was set up by Pankles because his name, although heavily restored, is not in the accusative case – denoting that a statue was set up of his image, nor is his name in the genitive case to denote the filiation of another individual whose details may have made up the remaining lost text.
[575] *I.Salamis*, 114.
[576] Other references: *BCH* (1962), 403-4; *I.Salamis*, no. 101; Kantiréa (2008), 107-8; Yon (2009), 291; Fujii (2013) Salamis no. 11. Present Location: Famagusta Museum, Cyprus, without inv. no.

[ἀρχ]ιερασάμενον τῆς Κύπρου τρῖς, κα[ὶ]
[πρ]εσβεύσαντα πρὸς τοὺς Σεβαστοὺς
τρῖς, καὶ ἀνιερώσαντα εἰς εὐθηνίαν 10.
ἀργύριον, Τίτος Φλάουιος Ἡλιόδωρος
τὸν πατρῷον φίλον.

Stemma:

Lines 4-5: κα[ὶ τὸ βαλανεῖο]ν? *I.Salamis* || Lines 5-6: σεβα[στοῖς καὶ θ]είοις *I.Salamis*.

Translation:

Titus Flavius Heliodorus (honours) his ancestral friend,
[Servius Sulpic]ius Pankles [Veranianus], perpetual
gymnasiarch and *agonothete* at his own (expense), who provided
the theatre and the gymnasium with the gold statues of the Emperors in it and who then
provided the amphitheatre at his own expense,
was high priest of Cyprus three times, and
ambassador to the Emperors three times,
and dedicated silver for a handout.

The initial appearance of this monument is striking and bears many features which could be considered typical of Latin epigraphy. Although the text is in Greek, the monument itself reads like a *cursus honorum*; the honorand is named first before the person dedicating the monument; and the purpose for the monument being set up is set up, and not described using abstract qualities which have been thought of as typical of Greek epigraphic practices.[577] The benefactions and generosity of Pankles could also be considered 'Roman' in character. Firstly, his provision, or reconstruction, of the amphitheatre at Salamis is remarkable, not only because amphitheatres were a quintessential Roman building type, but also because amphitheatres in the Greek East were not as prolific as those in the Latin West. Despite this, it is worth noting that Cyprus boasted another amphitheatre at Nea Paphos. The religious career of Pankles is also revealing of an individual who was closely involved with the worship of the emperor at Salamis as he was a high priest and also an ambassador to the

[577] Stewart (2003), 167-9.

Emperors, three times out of his own expense.[578] Finally, his provision of a handout of money to the people of Salamis is unparalleled in the epigraphy of Roman Cyprus. These activities and aspects of Pankles' identity as recorded in the inscription very much show him to be behaving as an insider and an outsider. The missing accompanying statue, which would have represented Pankles, could have further instructed us as to how he was represented visually.

Apart from the evidence of the enfranchisement of the descendants of Hyllos and of Servius Sulpicius Pankles Veranianus, it can be concluded that evidence of Roman *civitas* is rare at Salamis during the first century AD. Neither the friends nor associates of Pankles, nor the beneficiaries under his will, were Roman citizens; the sole exception was T. Flavius Heliodorus, named in the monument above.[579] While the monuments of Hyllos and his descendents show his family's journey towards their enfranchisement, the monuments relating to Pankles' family and network perhaps display the rewards of citizenship. The statue bases set up of Pankles by other leading citizens of Salamis who clearly did not possess the citizenship perhaps illustrate how coveted a badge of honour the distinction of citizenship was. This could be the case because so many monuments were set up of Pankles, not by him, and thus shows that other leading citizens wanted to be associated with him to distinguish themselves locally.

Having considered the monuments of the three high profile families of Nea Paphos and Salamis the inclusion of one's *tria nomina* and voting tribe in inscriptions were features used to advertise and promote their status, benefactions, and identity to local and wider

[578] Only two other individuals are attested as ambassadors to the Roman Emperors in the epigraphic record: [A] *LBW* III 2737; *IGR* III 982; Mitford (1980b), 285, footnote 62; *SEG* 30.1618; *I.Kition*, no. 2043; Fujii (2013) Kition no. 7: Statue of Tiberius Claudius Isidoros, a citizen. [B] The other individual was not a Roman citizen and is listed below.

[579] *I.Salamis*, 132: [A] *LBW* III 2759; *IGR* III 995; Mitford (1950b), 5, a; *I.Salamis*, 132, a; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 108; Kantiréa (2008), 108, no. 104. [B] *I.Salamis*, no. 132 b; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 109. [C] *I.Salamis*, no. 132 d; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 110.

audiences as Roman citizens.[580] These were features included alongside details of local religious offices and familial relationships to maintain a careful balancing act of advertising a local and a 'Roman' identity. It is not unusual that all of the monuments of Roman citizens on the island were set up using Greek, along with conventions typical of Greek epigraphy, such as the accusative construction. How these bilingual, linguistic features of the text were accompanied by statues is uncertain and it is frustrating that they do not survive.

The monuments of the *Ummidii* of Nea Paphos, Hyllos and his descendents, and of Pankles and his family share many common features with the monuments of high profile individuals who were not Roman citizens. It appears that non-citizens were able to distinguish themselves in the epigraphic setting up monuments to other high-profile individuals, by celebrating their role not only in local office but also in important activities that took place beyond the island. Most striking is the fact that ambassadors and high priests involved in the worship of the Roman Emperors did not always appear to be Roman citizens. Three ambassadors are recorded in total in the epigraphic record. As mentioned above, two

[580] For instance, other high priests of Imperial cult who were Roman citizens include: (listed in the order that they appear in Fujii (2013), 112-3):
[A] *IGR* III 981; *I.Kition*, no. 2037; Kantiréa (2008), 110, no. 120; Fujii (2013) Kition no. 4: Tiberius Claudius Hyl[l]os Iustus. [B] Mitford (1950b), 72-6, no. 41; *BE* (1951), no. 236; *ICA* 15 (in *RDAC* 1976), 247-50, no. 11; *SEG* 26.1475]; *I.Kition*, no. 2039; *AnnÉp* (2004), no. 1548; Kantiréa (2008), 98, no. 53; Fujii (2013) Kition no. 5: Tiberius Claudius Nikopolinos Hippar[chos]. [C] Hogarth (1889), 109-10, no. 28; *I.Kition*, no. 2040; Fujii (2013) Kition no. 6: a certain someone, possibly a citizen. [D] Mitford (1947), 204, no. 10; Mitford (1950b), 74-5, no. 7; *I.Kition*, no. 2038; Fujii (2013) Kition no. 12: Tiberius Clau[dius Mnas]eas Lucius, son of Mnaseas, a citizen. [E] *I.Kourion*, no. 77; Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1973b), 219; Fujii (2013) Kourion no. 1: a certain someone, possibly a citizen. [F] This chapter, section **3.3.1**. **Nea Paphos Inscription** (Fujii (2013) Paphos Nova no. 1). [Gaius U]mmidius Pantauchus [Quadratian]us. [G] *IGR* III 963; Hogarth, James et al. (1888), 260, no. 14; *IGR* III 948; Mitford (1947), 214-6, no. 5; *BE* (1949), no. 216; *I.Paphos*, no. 152; Fujii (2013) Paphos Vetus no. 7: a certain someone, possibly a citizen. [H] This chapter, section **3.3.1**. **Palaipaphos Inscription** (Fujii (2013) Paphos Vetus no. 15): Gaius Ummidius Pantauchus Quadratianus, son of Gaius Ummidius Quadratus and Claudia Rhodokleia. [I] This chapter, section **3.3.1**. **Palaipaphos Inscription** (*I.Paphos*, no. 172): Gaius Ummidius Quadratus Pantauchianus, son of Gaius Ummidius Pantauchos, grandson of Claudia Appharion, daughter of Teukros. [J] As a palimpsest inscription: Mitford (1947), 222-5, no. 9; *BE* (1949), no. 217; *I.Salamis*, no. 5; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 131; Kantiréa (2008), 93-5; *AnnÉp* (2008), no. 1514; Fujii (2013) Salamis nos. 3a and 3b: a certain someone, possibly a citizen.
[K] Beaudouin and Pottier (1879a), 173, no. 24; *IGR* III 961; Hogarth (1889), 110-1, no. 33; Mitford (1950b), 75, footnote 1; Mitford (1980b), 279, footnote 27; *SEG* 30.1644; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 127; Kantiréa (2008), 104, no. 85; Fujii (2013) Salamis no. 14: Flavius Fi[---], husband of Ceionia Kallisto Attike.

were Roman citizens, and the third, a Herakleides appears not to have been granted citizenship.[581] Many individuals who were high priests involved in the worship of the Roman Emperors are also attested in inscriptions from across the island.[582] Furthermore, the title of *Philocaesar*, Caesar Lovers, is attested in two monuments in Cyprus.[583] It is known that this title was conferred on individuals by cities who had a particular involvement or responsibility in the organisation of the worship of the Roman Emperors.[584]

3.3.3. Initial conclusions.

All of these examples reveal that the inhabitants of Cyprus advertised extraordinary displays of loyalty to Rome whether they were Roman citizens or not. More significantly, the

[581] Cf. *LBW* III 2734; *IGR* III 980; *ICA* 23 (in *RDAC* 1984), 257-8, no. 1; *SEG* 34.1416; *I.Kition*, no. 2042; Fujii (2013) Kition no. 3.
[582] Other high priests of Imperial cult who were not Roman citizens include: (listed in the order that they appear in Fujii (2013), 112-3):
[A] *BE* (1959), no. 494; *SEG* 17.750; Kantiréa (2008), 103, no. 81; Fujii (2013) Karpasia no. 1: Phanokles, son of Nikolaos. [B] Mitford (1950b), 81-3, no. 44; *BE* (1951), no. 236; *I.Kition*, no. 2041; Kantiréa (2008), 96, no. 33; Fujii (2013) Kition no. 2: Euphamo, daughter of Euphamos, not a citizen.
[B] *OGIS* II 583; *LBW* III 2773; *IGR* III 933; Kantiréa (2008), 99-100; Fujii (2013) Lapethus no. 2: Adrastos, son of Adrastos.
[C] Mitford (1980b), 281, footnote 38; *SEG* 30.1627; Mitford (1990), 2196, footnote 105; *SEG* 40.1362; *I.Paphos*, no. 176; Kantiréa (2008), 97, no. 40; Fujii (2013) Paphos Vetus no. 5: Plous.
[D] Hogarth, James et al. (1888), 254, no. 119; Mitford (1947), 228-30, no. 13; *BE* (1949), no. 216; Mitford (1980a), 1353, and footnote 324; *I.Paphos*, no. 170; Kantiréa (2008), 106; Fujii (2013) Paphos Vetus no. 6: a certain someone, son of Rhod[okleia].
[E] This study, chapter four, section **4.2.3.2. Palaipaphos Inscription** (Fujii (2013) Paphos Vetus no. 9). Rhodokles, also known as Stasikrates.
[F] Mitford (1980b), 282, footnote 40; *SEG* 30.1628; Mitford (1990), 2197, footnote 109; *SEG* 40.1363; *I.Paphos*, no. 177; Kantiréa (2008), 103, no. 80; Fujii (2013) Paphos Vetus no. 13: Amyntor, son of Tryphosa and Lysias.
[G] Tubbs (1891), 195-6, no. 53; *IGR* III 994; *OGIS* II 582; *I.Salamis*, no. 3; Mitford (1980b), 278, footnote 13; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 101; Kantiréa (2008), 93; Yon (2009), 291; Fujii (2013) Salamis no. 2: Hyllos, son of Hyllos.
[H] *I.Salamis*, no. 100; Mitford (1980b), 278, footnote 16; *SEG* 30.1640; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 102; Kantiréa (2008), 95; Yon (2009), 291; Fujii (2013) Salamis no. 6: Herakleides, son of Hyllos.
[I] Mitford (1980b), 279, footnote 28; *SEG* 30.1647; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 138; Kantiréa (2008), 99; *AnnÉp* (2008), no. 1515; Fujii (2013) Salamis no. 10: Diodoros, son of Diodoros.
[J] *LBW* III 2759; *IGR* III 995; Mitford (1950b), 5, a; *I.Salamis*, 132, a; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 108; Kantiréa (2008), 108, no. 104; Fujii (2013) Salamis no. 12: Zenon, son of Onesandros.
[583] [A] *BE* (1959), no. 494; *SEG* 17.750; Kantiréa (2008), 103, no. 81; Fujii (2013) Karpasia no. 1: Statue of Phanokles. [B] *OGIS* II 583; *LBW* III 2773; *IGR* III 933; Kantiréa (2008), 99-100; Fujii (2013) Lapethus no. 2: Tiberius' shrine and statue dedicated by Adrastos. Neither of these individuals were citizens.
[584] Fujii (2013), 121.

symbols of Roman citizenship, the *tria nomina* and belonging to a voting tribe, were celebrated by enfranchised individuals to further emphasise a Roman identity alongside a local Cypriot one. Honours conferred by the *koinon* of Cyprus were also awarded to high profile members of local communities whether they were Roman citizens or not and reveal that individuals who were not Roman citizens were generous in embellishing their cities or contributed significantly to the organisation of local religions.

3.4. Conclusions.

Mitford's sketch of the pattern of Roman citizenship in Cyprus, through the study of epigraphic evidence, remains important. This chapter has further explored the topic of Roman citizenship by examining how individuals granted citizenship expressed their identity in public monuments first by considering the monuments of outsiders in Roman Cyprus and then the monuments of insiders. The appearance of bilingual monuments celebrating citizenship in Cyprus appear to be the monuments of individuals or families who were not perhaps local to Cyprus but who had settled on the island from Italy. Furthermore, these individuals are thought to have originated from Italy and were of servile origin, although the paucity of the evidence makes it impossible to suggest that the use of bilingual text in inscriptions was a particular feature of the monuments of freedmen and freedwomen.

The representation of outsiders and high profile visitors reveal that deliberate linguistic strategies were used in inscriptions to project a particular identity. The monuments set up by *negotiatores* show a conscious decision to express a collective identity that emphasises a separateness from local Cypriot communities, but also suggests some degree of integration. Furthmore, the monuments of high profile visitors set up by insiders celebrate the outsiders to highlight the connections that a community of the former may have had with the

world beyond the island. The distinction of having a significant individual visit a local sanctuary was clearly important; the celebration of Marcia and Nestor in monuments at the sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia at Palaipaphos imply a competitive drive by the Paphians to celebrate the renown of their ancient sanctuary. The monument which could have been set up at Kourion to give the illusion that the Emperor Trajan visited the sanctuary of Apollo Hylates also adds weight to this idea. Furthermore, it implies that outsiders did not necessarily have to visit the island to make an impact.

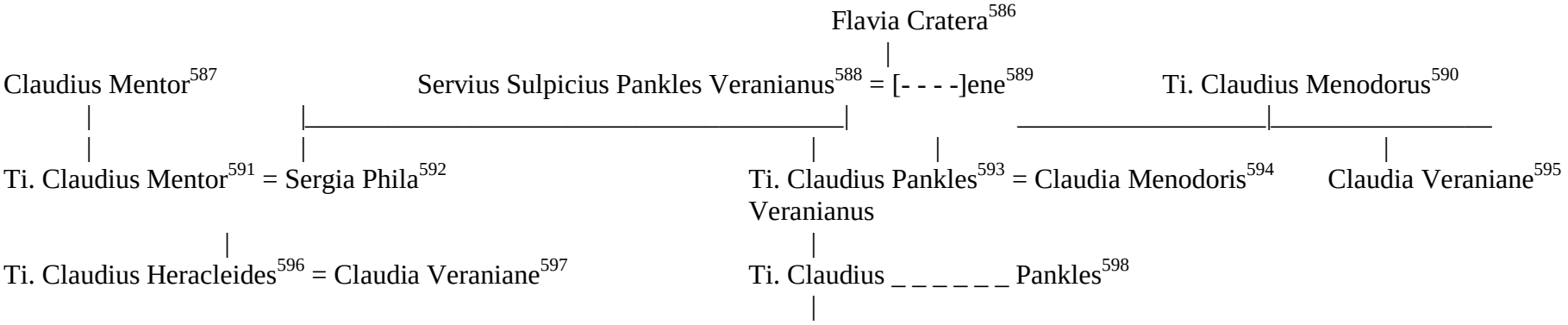
This study has also shown how identity was projected by Cypriots who had been granted Roman citizenship and by those who had not. Typical shared features included in the monuments of the Cypriot local elite included details such as the advertisement of local religious positions and magistracies, particularly the worship of the Roman Emperor as well as involvement in local religions, and familial ties. Specific symbols used by Roman citizens to express their identity include the use of the *tria nomina* and the voting-tribe to which the individual belonged.

In sum, monuments set up by outsiders are distinctive from those of insiders as they either use Latin or were bilingual texts, in Latin and Greek. Although they do display local knowledge in their monuments, it is clear that they wanted to project a specific message about their identity and status on the island. The monuments of the *Ummidii* of Paphos and Servius Sulpicius Pankles Veranianus of Salamis reveal a very careful display of insider and outsider identities.

Finally, Mitford's theory that Cypriot disenchantment with the pursuit of *civitas* after AD 212 because of the rare appearance of *Aurelii* is redundant.[585] Firstly, it is difficult to suggested that Cypriots no longer sought the honour of Roman citizenship because of the lack

[585] Mitford (1980b), 280, and footnote 31.

of evidence. Secondly, his argument, that as a result of the *Constitutio Antoniniania*, locals ceased pursuing the citizenship and turned towards embellishing their cities can no longer be supported. Inscriptions reveal that leading citizens *always* looked to the interests of their cities from the very outset of Roman rule. The evidence for the commemoration and self representation of leading local families shows their keen interest in expressing their local status and connections. The evidence of the *Ummidii* of Paphos, the *Sulpicii* of Salamis, Hyllos and his descendents in Salamis, and the leading individuals across the island show that the local elites invested heavily into the social and cultural agendas of their cities from the start of the Roman period, regardless of whether they were awarded citizenship or not.



[586] *I.Salamis,* no. 107; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 114. *I.Salamis*: suggested that Flavia Cratera was a friend, *Salamine de Chypre* XIII: that she was the mother of Pankles' wife.

[587] *I.Salamis,* no. 109; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 115. *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 119 restored the names Tiberius Claudius son of Tiberius Claudius Me]ntor and could be considered further evidence of this branch of the family.

[588] [A] This study, chapter three, section **3.3.2**. **Salamis Inscription** (*Salamine de Chypre,* XIII, no. 106). [B] *I.Salamis,* no. 102; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 107. This inscription is very fragmentary but possibly records three generations of this family. [C] *LBW* III 2759; *IGR* III 995; *I.Salamis,* 132, a; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 108; Kantiréa (2008), 108, no. 104; Fujii (2013) Salamis no. 12. [D] *I.Salamis,* 132 b; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 109. [E] *I.Salamis,* 132 d; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 110. [F] *I.Salamis,* no. 105; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 111. This inscription is extremely fragmentary. [G] *I.Salamis,* no. 101 h; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 112 This inscription is extremely fragmentary. [H] *I.Salamis,* no. 103; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 113. This inscription is extremely fragmentary. [I] *I.Salamis,* no. 107; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 114. [J] *I.Salamis,* no. 108; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 116. [K] *I.Salamis,* no. 109; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 115.

[589] *I.Salamis,* no. 107; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 114. *I.Salamis*: restored the name Claudia Eirene. *Salamine de Chypre* XIII: suggested the names Eirene, Selene, Helene.

[590] Mitford (1950b), 8-10, no. 4; *I.Salamis,* no. 111a; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 118.

[591] [A] *I.Salamis,* no. 109; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 115. [B] Mitford (1950b), 8-10, no. 4; *I.Salamis,* no. 111a; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 118.

[592] [A] *I.Salamis,* no. 108; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 116. [B] *I.Salamis,* no. 109; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 115.

[593] *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, 52 and 54: That nothing assures us that this individual is the son of Servius Sulpicius Pankles Veranianus, or that he was the brother of Sergia Phila as interpreted by *I.Salamis,* no. 108. [A] *I.Salamis,* no. 102; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 107 [B] *I.Salamis,* no. 108; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 116. [C] *I.Salamis,* no. 111; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 117. [D] *I.Salamis,* no. 113; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 120.

[594] [A] *I.Salamis,* no. 108; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 116. Salamine de Chypre: That it is uncertain whether Claudia Menodoris was the sister of Claudia Veraniane.

[595] Mitford (1950b), 8-10, no. 4; *I.Salamis,* no. 111a; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 118.

[596] Mitford (1950b), 8-10, no. 4; *I.Salamis,* no. 111a; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 118.

[597] Mitford (1950b), 8-10, no. 4; *I.Salamis,* no. 111a; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 118.

[598] [A] *I.Salamis,* no. 111; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 117. [B] *I.Salamis,* no. 102; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 107. [C] *I.Salamis,* no. no. 113; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 120.

Sergia[599] _ _ _ _

[599] *I.Salamis*, no. 115; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, 96: That this is a bold restoration by *I.Salamis* as this inscription is extremely framentary.

Chapter Four. Civic Identity in Roman Cyprus.

4.1. Introduction.

Having so far focussed on the individual power and identity of insiders and outsiders in chapters two and three, this chapter will now investigate negotiation of collective power and identity by considering the *poleis* of Roman Cyprus. The *polis* was a space that provided multiple platforms and environments for social, collective activities to take place. Oswyn Murray's article 'Cities of Reason' emphasised the value of exploring the concept of collective consciousness in the *polis*. For Murray, collective consciousness permeated all other relationships, was socially determined, and was expressed and maintained through ritual.[600] Furthermore, the expression and maintenance of collective consciousness represented and restructured reality in the *polis*.[601] For this reason, study of political and social institutions, religions and the general visual appearance of a *polis* is important to consider because they can be reflective of collective activity, memory and identity. Recently Katherine Clarke's study *Making Time for the Past* demonstrated how the creation of local *polis* history, through the negotiation of time, contributed to a shared sense of civic identity, particularly in the Greek *poleis*.[602] Therefore, it will also be crucial to investigate the creation of local history through the negotiation of the past and 'memory'.

At the core of this chapter is the question of what was central to civic identity in Roman Cyprus, particularly how it was articulated and negotiated over time. The question of whether multiple or competing identities existed within a single *polis* is also important to

[600] Murray (1990), 19.
[601] Murray (1990), 19.
[602] Clarke (2008).

ask.[603] Finally, how the identities and experiences of the Roman *poleis* differ from, and correspond with, one another across the island will also be considered.

To date, the topic of civic identity has been underplayed in investigations of the culture and society of Roman Cyprus. Although many of the *poleis* of Roman Cyprus have been extensively excavated, analysis of the rich variety of artefacts uncovered at these sites requires further investigation as the current picture of the culture and society of the island under Rome does not fully expose the individuality of the cities.[604] The most attention that this topic has received has been in discussion of the different calendars in use in Roman Cyprus, and also in discussion of the titles granted to, and adopted by, the island's *poleis* over time, particularly that of *metropolis*. The appearance of monuments set up in honour of the Roman Emperors, as divine or otherwise, and instances of overspending by some *poleis* have also been recently considered as evidence for rivalry between *poleis* wishing to 'outdo' one another.[605] The use of *metropolis* in inscriptions and of local calendars has been considered not only as evidence of loyalty or resistance to Rome, but also as testimony of collective identity, experience, and civic rivalry.[606] A summary of the use of calendars and the title of *metropolis*, before this investigation begins, will illuminate our present understanding of how the topic of civic identity in Roman Cyprus has been thought about so far.

[603] Cf. Rogers (1991) and van Bremen (1993).
[604] Note that from 2008, editions of the journal *CCEC* have attempted to address this issue by focusing on the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Cf. In particular Aupert (2009) and Kantiréa (2010) which offer studies on the Helenistic and Roman periods of Amathous and Kourion respectively.
[605] Cf. Fujii (2013), chapter two in general, and 53.
[606] On the use of calendars in Cyprus: Mitford (1980a), 1357-61; 1365-9; Fujii (2013), 144-56. On the title *metropolis* in Cyprus: Mitford (1980a), 1310-2; Fujii (2013), 98-101. For general studies of the title *metropolis*: Bowersock (1985); Bowersock (1995), 85-98; Potter (2000), 819-20; Heller (2006), 197-210.

4.1.1. The use of calendars.

In the fourth century AD the bishop of Salamis, Epiphanius, recorded that two different two calendars were used in Cyprus during his lifetime: a Paphian calendar and a Salaminian calendar.[607] The Paphian calendar is thought to have been created around 15 BC. For the purpose of this study the calendar will be referred to as the Romano-Cypriot Calendar.[608] Little is known about the introduction of this calendar to Cyprus; drawing upon the evidence for the introduction of the calendar of Asia in 9 BC by the proconsul of Asia, Paullus Fabius Maximus, it has been suggested that the Romano-Cypriot calendar was perhaps initiated by the *koinon* of the island, with the co-operation of a Roman proconsul, as an expression of flattery and loyalty to Rome.[609] The months of the year were named in honour of Augustus and his household, including members of his mythological family tree who were significant to the identity of Cyprus and the imperial household, as follows:[610]

Month	Beginning	Days
Σεβαστός	2 October	31
Ἀγρίππαιος	2 November	30
Λίβαιος	2 December	31
Ὀκτάβαιος	2 January	31
[Ἰούλαιος]	2 February	28
Νερώναιος	2 March	31

[607] Epiphanius, *Panarion*, 51.24.1.
[608] After Fujii (2013), 144.
[609] Hill (1940), 227; Mitford (1980a), 1358; Fujii (2013), 149-52: The most likely candidate for assisting with communication between Cyprus and Rome in the introduction of this calendar in around 15 BC appears to be P. Pacquius Scaeva.
[610] Fujii (2013), 144-7: provides full discussion of the structure of the Romano-Cypriot Calendar and its appearance, and preservation, in later manuscripts (The *Chaldaean Dodecaeteris* in the *Codex Parisinus* no. 2420 fol. 205^{v}-209^{v} of the sixteenth century; The *Liber Glossarum*; and The *Vocabularium* of Papias of the eleventh century.

Δρούσαιος	2 April	30
Ἀφροδίσιος	2 May	31
Ἀγχίσαιος	2 June	30
Ῥωμαῖος	2 July	31
Αἰνεάδαιος	2 August	31
Καπετώλιος	2 September	30

With the death and decline of members of the imperial household, it is inevitable that the meaning of calendar, particularly as its months were named after individuals, was in part redundant and so it was altered at some point in the early empire to reflect dynastic changes that took place during the Emperor Augustus' rule.[611] The date and introduction of this revised calendar is thought to have been from around 12 BC and its structure is recorded as follows:[612]

Madrid Codex	*Hemerologia*	Beginning	Days
Ἀφροδίσιος	Αφροδίσιος	23 September	31
Ἀπογονικός	Ἀπόλλω	24 October	30
Αἰνικός	Ἄννιος	23 November	31
Ἰούνιος	Ἰούλιος	24 December	31
Καισάριος	Καισάριος	24 January	28
Σεβαστός	Σεβαστός	21 February	30
Αὐτοκρατορικός	Αὐτοκράτωρ	23 March	31

[611] Fujii (2013), 147-8.
[612] Mitford (1980a), 1360; Fujii (2013), 147-9: provides full discussion of the appearance of the second version of this calendar as recorded in the *Madrid Codex* Gr. no. 95 and the *hemerologia* of Florence, Leiden, and Rome.

Δημαρχεξάσιος	Δήμαρχος	23 April	31
Πληθύπατος	Πλησθύκατος	24 May	30
Ἀρχιερεύς	Ἀρχιέριος	23 June	30
Ἕσθιος	Ἑστιέος	24 July	30
Ῥωμαῖος	Λῶος	23 August	31

The Salaminian calendar, mentioned by Epiphanius, was thought to be of Egyptian origin and established during the period of Ptolemaic rule.[613] In turn, it is thought that during the early empire this calendar, hereafter named the Egypto-Cypriot calendar, was altered 'in terms of synchronism with the Julian calendar'.[614] The use of the two calendars in Roman Cyprus from the beginning of Roman rule to Epiphanius' day implies the rivalry felt between Salamis and Paphos.[615] Recently, Fujii has re-examined the way in which time was recorded, and the use of calendars and festivals in Roman Cyprus.[616] Eight inscriptions attest the use of four calendars in Roman Cyprus:[617]

No.	Date	Month	Name Place
1[618]	Late-Augustan	Παῦνι	Tamassos
2[619]	Late-Augustan	Ῥωμαῖος	Amathous
3[620]	AD 23	Τιβεριεῖος Σεβαστός	Paphos Vetus[621]
4[622]	AD 29	Ἀπογονικός	Lapethus

[613] Fujii (2013), 154-6.
[614] Mitford (1980a), 1358-9; Stern (2010), 111-4; Fujii (2013), 155.
[615] Mitford (1980a), 1357-61, particularly 1358; Cf. Fujii (2013), 154.
[616] Fujii (2013), chapters seven and eight.
[617] Table taken from Fujii (2013), 152-3, based on Mitford (1980a), 1359 with revisions.
[618] Mitford (1961a), 139-41, no. 38; *SEG* 20.297.
[619] Aupert (2008), 349-70. Cf. This study, chapter four, section **4.4.3.2**. **Amathous Inscription** (Aupert (2008), 349-70).
[620] Hogarth, James, et al. (1888), 227, no. 6; *IGR* III 941;Mitford (1961a), 140-1; *SEG* 20.213; *I.Paphos*, no. 148; Fujii (2013) Paphos Vetus no. 11.
[621] Palaipaphos.

5[623]	AD 53	Δημαρχεξούσιος	Soloi
6[624]	AD 81	Ῥωμῆος	Tremithous
7	AD 88	Τύβι	Tremithous
8	AD 88	Σάμβατ	Tremithous
9[625]	AD 194	Ῥωμῆος	Louroukina
10[626]	2–3 C. AD	Νοέμβριος	Salamis

The table, compiled by Fujii, reveals the use of the Romano-Cypriot calendar, attested by Epiphanius and mentioned above, the calendar of Salamis (hereby named the Egypto-Cypriot calendar) also recorded by Epiphanius, a Julio Claudian calendar and a Jewish Calendar.[627] More significantly, Fujii's study highlights that, although the nature of the evidence is insufficient, it is clear that the use of calendars in Roman Cyprus was not consistent across the island and that the cities and their environs utilised a variety of methods for recording and commemorating time.[628] However, the incomplete nature of the evidence reveals that on the evidence for the use of local calendars alone, the rivalry felt between Salamis and Paphos should not be overstated.[629]

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[622] *OGIS* II 583; *LBW* III 2773; *IGR* III 933; Kantiréa (2008), 99-100; Fujii (2013) Lapethus no. 2.
[623] *IGR* III 930; Mitford (1947), 201-6, no. 1.
[624] Mitford (1961a), 118-9, no. 18; *SEG* 20.128. Cf. Mitford (1990), 2204, footnote 148; Nos. six, seven, and eight of this table are inscribed on the same stone.
[625] Mitford (1961a), 117, no. 17; *SEG* 20.141; *I.Kition*, no. 2011.
[626] Tubbs (1891), 193, no. 48; *GIBM* IV 986; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 27; cf. *AnnÉp* (2001), no. 1949; *SEG* 51.1299.
[627] For a recent interpretation of the calendar from Tremithous see Stern (2010).
[628] Cf. Fujii (2013), chapter eight in general.
[629] Mitford (1980a), 1358; Fujii (2013), 111-2, 154.

4.1.2. The title *metropolis*.

The surviving inscriptions of a *polis* not only attest its status under Roman rule, but also the times in which the title of the city was embellished during Roman rule can be detected, which is revealing of the relationship between the *polis* and Rome. The inscriptions of Nea Paphos do just this.[630] Prior to an earthquake of 15 BC, inscriptions referred to the city of Nea Paphos as ἡ πόλις ἡ Παφίων or ὁ δῆμος ὁ Παφίων.[631] After 15 BC, the city is referred to as Σεβαστὴ Πάφος or Σεβαστῆς Πάφου ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος which suggests that it was officially granted the title of *Sebaste*.[632] The full title of Σεβαστὴ Κλαυδία Φλαουία Παφος, ἡ ἱερὰ μητρόπολις τῶν κατὰ κύπρου πόλεων is attested for Nea Paphos under the Antonines.[633] The title of *Claudia* is thought to have been conferred on the city around AD 66 and *Flavia* shortly after AD 69.[634] The historical contexts of the bestowal of the titles *Claudia* and *Flavia* on Nea Paphos can only be suggested. Fujii tentatively puts forward that *Claudia* may have been bestowed on Paphos during Nero's tour in Greece in AD 67,[635]and *Flavia* in return for the favourable oracle of the temple of

[630] Mitford (1980a), 1310.
[631] For example:
[A] This study, chapter three, section **3.2.1**. **Nea Paphos Inscription** (*I.Paphos*, no. 242).
[B] *CIG* II 2628; *IGR* III 938; Mitford (1990), 2204, footnote 145; *I.Paphos*, no. 235.
[632] For example:
[A] Hogarth, James, et al. (1888), 242, no. 61; Mitford (1947), 227, no. 11; Mitford (1980a), 1310, no. 85; *SEG* 30.1632; *I.Paphos*, no. 145; Kantiréa (2008), 96; Fujii (2013) Paphos Vetus no. 3.
[B] This study, chapter three, section **3.2.4**. **Palaipaphos Inscription** (Fujii (2013) Paphos Vetus no. 4).
[C] This study, chapter four, section **4.2.3.2. Palaipaphos Inscription** (Fujii (2013) Paphos Vetus no. 9).
[D] *LBW* III 2792; Hogarth, James, et al. (1888), 227, no. 7; *IGR* III 942; *I.Paphos*, no. 147; Fujii (2013) Paphos Vetus no. 10.
[E] Hogarth, James, et al. (1888), 277, no. 6; *IGR* III 941; Mitford (1961a), 141; *SEG* 20.213; *I.Paphos*, no. 148; Fujii (2013) Paphos Vetus no. 11.
[F] Hogarth, James, et al. (1888), 250-1, no. 107b; *IGR* III 944; Mitford (1947), 208-12, no. 3; Mitford (1980a), 1301, no. 58; *SEG* 30.1635; *I.Paphos*, no. 150; Fujii (2013) Paphos Vetus no. 12.
[G] This study, chapter two, section **2.4.4**. **Nea Paphos Inscription** (*I.Paphos*, no. 237).
[633] Mitford (1980a), 1310. Cf. This study, chapter four, section **4.2.3.2**. **Nea Paphos Inscription** (Fujii (2013) Paphos Nova no. 3).
[634] Mitford (1980a), 1310.
[635] Fujii (2013), 99; Cf. Mitford (1958), 7.

Aphrodite where the future emperor Titus consulted about the outcome of the Civil War and his own future before joining his father in Syria.[636] Alternatively, in AD 77/78 another earthquake devastated the city and it is possible that the title of *Flavia* was added to the title of the city after this. It is also possible that the Flavian mint was transferred from Syrian Antioch to Paphos from AD 76-79 in what was known as 'the sacred years' of the Flavians, confirming imperial interest with the city.[637] It is from the mid-second century AD that the title *metropolis* is attested in Cyprus.[638]

Recognition of a *polis* as a *metropolis* by Rome was highly valued in the provinces and the title was eagerly sought after. For instance, the *metropolis* of a province was the *polis* to which the Roman governor had to show particular respect.[639] During Hadrian's reign, the title of *metropolis* was granted to more than one *polis* within a province.[640] The appearance of the title *metropolis* in the inscriptions of Nea Paphos and Salamis, while interesting, is also unclear with regards the study of civic rivalry in Roman Cyprus. The city of Nea Paphos

[636] Tacitus, *Historiae*, 2.2-4; Suetonius, *Divus Titus*, 5. Cf. Hill (1940), 233; Mitford (1958), 7, footnote 29; Potter (2000), 795, footnote 95; Kantiréa (2008), 97; Fujii (2013), 99.
[637] Hill (1940), 234; Mitford (1980a), 1311.
[638] The title *metropolis* appears in the following inscriptions at Nea Paphos and Palaipaphos:
[A] This study, chapter four, section **4.2.3.2**. **Palaipaphos Inscription** (*I.Paphos*, no. 182).
[B] This study, chapter four, section **4.2.3.2**. **Nea Paphos Inscription** (Fujii (2013) Paphos Nova no. 3).
[C] *LBW* III 2785; *IGR* III 937; Mitford (1961a), 105, no. 50; *SEG* 20.253; *I.Paphos*, no. 231; Fujii (2013) Paphos Nova no. 4.
[D] Seyrig (1927), 139-43, no. 3; *SEG* 6.810; *BE* (1928), 382-3; *I.Paphos*, no. 232; Fujii (2013) Paphos Nova no. 5.
[E] Hogarth, James, et al. (1888), 252, no. 111; *IGR* III 947; Seyrig (1927), 140-3; *SEG* 6.811; Mitford (1947), 212-4, no. 4; *I.Paphos*, no. 156; Fujii (2013) Paphos Vetus no. 17.
The title *metropolis* elsewhere in Cyprus:
[A] The title has been restored in this monument from Salamis: Mitford (1980b), 279, footnote 28; *SEG* 30.1647; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 138; Kantiréa (2008), 99; *AnnÉp* (2008), no.1515; Fujii (2013) Salamis no. 10 omits the title from this reading of the text.
[B] Salamis: *I.Salamis*, no. 92; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 140; Kantiréa (2008), 103, no. 84; *AnnÉp* (2008), no. 1515; Fujii (2013) Salamis no. 16.
[C] Salamis: Tubbs (1891), 180-1, no. 15; *IGR* III 989; *GIBM* IV no. 983; Mitford (1947), 212, no. 47; Mitford (1961a), 125; *SEG* 20.123; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 142; Fujii (2013) Salamis no. 18.
[D] An unpublished inscription from Amathous honouring the Emperor Caracalla: Reported in *ICA* 42 (in *RDAC* 2003), 308; cf. *SEG* 52.1496.
[639] Potter (2000), 819-20.
[640] Fujii (2013), 100.

unsurprisingly bore the title *metropolis* from the mid-second century AD, given the loyalty displayed by the city to Rome and its status as provincial capital. For both Mitford and Potter, the appearance of the title in an inscription of Salamis reveals the stuggle for primacy between the two cities.[641] It is evident that the inscription set up by Salamis to honour Hadrian as their saviour and benefactor following the devastation that it suffered during the Jewish uprising was an attempt to re-assert the importance of the city as a second *metropolis*. Both Mitford and Potter suggested that Salamis was reprimanded for this attempt, though neither exactly explained why.[642] Mitford's study implied that Salamis conferred a title on itself that should have been reserved for the provincial capital alone. As mentioned above, from the reign of Hadrian, more than one *polis* could be recognised as *metropolis* in a province. For Potter, Salamis' efforts for recognition as a *metropolis* were naturally spurred on by other cities acquiring the title.[643]

For Fujii, exploration of the use of the title *metropolis* is to be understood within the context of the Hadrianic re-organisation of the eastern Mediterranean, because of its appearance in Cyprus from his reign onwards.[644] Contra Mitford and Potter, Fujii suggests that the appearance of *metropolis* in two inscriptions from Salamis does not denote an appeal that resulted in the city being rebuked, but indicates that the title was conferred on the city along with Nea Paphos.[645] In return for this honour, the two cities promoted the worship of the emperor.[646] He highlights that the title *metropolis*, along with *protos* and *neokoros*, is found in many cities of the eastern provinces and was often bestowed by Rome on *poleis*

[641] Mitford (1980a) 1312; Cf. Potter (2000), 786, footnote 69.
[642] Mitford (1980a), 1311-2, 1323; Potter (2000), 786, 819-20.
[643] Potter (2000), 818-9: Potter suggested that Paphos could have opposed this appeal.
[644] Fujii (2013), 100-1.
[645] Mitford (1980a), 1323; Kantiréa (2008), 103; Fujii (2013), 100.
[646] Fujii (2013), 100.

competing with each other for a higher status in regional politics.[647] Fujii suggests that the difference in the titles of Paphos and Salamis may point to a subtle difference in their status: the more complicated title of Paphos seems to have placed the city above Salamis.[648]

The cultural politics of Hadrian's *Panhellenion* is also relevant to further our understanding of civic rivalry between Nea Paphos and Salamis.[649] None of the *poleis* of Cyprus were recorded as being members of the *Panhellenion*, but this did not prevent a statue of Hadrian from being set up in the precinct of the Olympieion in Athens by the *Koinon* of Cyprus.[650] Significantly, the delegation of the expedition was made up of one ambassador from Nea Paphos and another from Salamis. This evidence points to the integration of both Nea Paphos and Salamis into the politics of Hadrian. Furthermore, it appears that the civic rivalry between the two *poleis* is more complex than once thought because the monument at Athens shows co-operation in the act of representing the identity of Cyprus beyond the island itself. The details of this monument will be discussed in more detail later in chapter five.

Evidence for the title *metropolis* should now also be seen within the historical context of the cultural agenda of Hadrian's reign. Furthermore, the focus to date on Nea Paphos and Salamis implies too simplistic an 'east vs. west' cultural division of the island and response to Rome. For instance, Potter correctly stated that the main struggle for power in Roman Cyprus revolved around Nea Paphos and Salamis, but the study of evidence from other *poleis* could reveal a more complex picture of the power and identity of other *poleis* in Roman Cyprus.[651] Up until now the evidence has not been explored in a way that enables us to reconstruct a fairly representative picture of the connectivity of, the interactions between, and the overall

[647] Fujii (2013), 100.
[648] Fujii (2013), 100-1.
[649] For studies on the *Panhellenion*: Spawforth and Walker (1985) and (1986); Willers (1990); Jones (1996); Spawforth (1999).
[650] Cf. This study, chapter five, section **5.4.5**. **Athens Inscription** (*IG* II² 3296).
[651] Cf. Potter (2000), 787.

identity of the *poleis* of Roman Cyprus. For instance, an unpublished inscription from Amathous reveals that the title of *metropolis* was also used by this city; it appears that in a monument set up in honour of Caracalla Amathous self-styled itself as a *metropolis*.[652] Fujii's study, along with analysis of material in chapters one and two of this thesis, reveals that alternative evidence to gauge the rivalry between the island's two principal *poleis* exists. For instance, Fujii's study considers whether the worship of the emperor in Roman Cyprus was not fuelled by civic rivalry, but concludes that it does not.[653] Furthermore, Fujii highlights that the evidence for monuments set up to important visitors at the sanctuaries of the *poleis*' chief deities is revealing of the competitive nature of some cities in showcasing famous visitors, particularly as this may involve the claim that some individuals visited when they did not.[654] Money spent on embellishing shared public spaces in the *poleis*, either by wealthy locals or by outsiders, could also be considered as fundamental to the study of civic identity as this concerned the outward appearance of a city and the use of shared public space. The division and organisation of time as a vehicle for interacting with the ruling power is clearly shown by the use of the Romano-Cypriot calendar in Cyprus; furthermore, the introduction of this calendar demonstrates the significance of mythology as key in this exchange. Coins have also been cited as key evidence for the contrived presentation of a particular civic identity.[655] There are limitations, however, to analysing the topic of civic rivalry through the study of coins minted in Roman Cyprus because of the way in which they were issued. The coins were minted by the *koinon* of Cyprus, not by individual cities.[656] Nevertheless, the *koinon*'s

[652] Cf. *ICA* 42 (in *RDAC* 2003), 305–308; *SEG* 52.1496. An inscription set up by Kition at Tyre also names Tyre as its *metropolis*, this will be explored in chapter five, section **5.3**. **Tyre Inscription** (*I.Kition*, no. 176).
[653] Fujii (2013), 111-2.
[654] Cf. This study, chapter three, section **3.2.3**.
[655] Cf. Burnett (2011), 6.
[656] Jones (1937), 371; Parks (2004), 165.

iconography is relevant to an investigation of insider perceptions of the island's overall identity and will be discussed in chapter five.

Evidence drawn from other major *poleis* will enrich our understanding of civic rivalry and the formation of *polis* identity in Roman Cyprus.

4.1.3. The *poleis* of Roman Cyprus.

The *poleis* of Roman Cyprus are recorded by several authors writing within the time frame of this study.

The earliest account comes from the early Empire; Strabo's *Geographica* 14.6.1-6 provides a description of Cyprus' landscape and environment, but offers an inconsistent picture of the *poleis* of Roman Cyprus. Strabo explicitly named Lapethus, Karpasia, Amathous, Kourion, one of three Arsinoe, Soloi, and Limenia (now unknown) as *poleis* of Roman Cyprus. The well-known, established cities of Salamis, Kition, Nea Paphos (along with Palaipaphos), and Tamassus were also cited by Strabo, but not labelled as *poleis*. Strabo also cited several otherwise unknown locations, such as an Aphrodisium, but did not elaborate on their status.

The next significant account appears in Pliny the Elder's *Naturalis Historia*, 5.35.130, written in the first century AD, in which he specifically listed the cities of Roman Cyprus. Again, the information provided in this account is confusing as fifteen *oppida*, not *poleis*, of Roman Cyprus are recorded.[657] According to Pliny these were: New and Palaipaphos, Curias (meaning Kourion), Citium, Corinaeum (possibly Kyreneia), Salamis, Soloe (meaning Soloi), Tamasos (meaning Tammasus), Epidaurum, Chytroi, Arsinoe, Carpasium, and Golgoe (meaning Golgoi). He named a further three locations within this list of *poleis*, a Cinyria,

[657] Jones (1937), 372: observed that Pliny's list was compiled from his reading of other historians and 'it is to be feared, the mythologists'.

Mareum/Marium, and Idalium, all of which are otherwise unknown or known to be no longer extant in the Roman period. Furthermore, Epidarum is unknown as a location in Cyprus and the status of Golgoi in the Roman period can be called into question as a settlement, thus forcing one to be careful of interpreting the evidence presented by Pliny.

The second century AD geographer Claudius Ptolemy recorded in his *Geographia* 5.14.1-7 that Roman Cyprus was divided, by the Roman administration, into four districts. According to Ptolemy the eastern part of the island fell under the Salaminian district, the west the Paphian district, the middle and south of the island the Amathousian district which included Mount Olympos (now in the Troodos mountains), and the north into the Lapethian district.

It is clear that a complete picture of the cities of Roman Cyprus will probably never be fully realised.[658] The literary sources cited above are inconsistent and do not provide us with a complete picture of the civic status of the *poleis*. Furthermore, numismatic evidence is not helpful because the *poleis* did not mint their own coins in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods.[659] Epigraphic evidence of the Roman *poleis* of Cyprus supports these accounts only partially. No epigraphic evidence exists for a complete list of cities of Roman Cyprus.[660] Accounts from the later Roman Empire are perhaps the most instructive in enabling us to reconstruct the picture. For example, Georgius Cyprius, writing in the seventh century AD, listed twelve *poleis* of Cyprus and it is generally accepted that these were the *poleis* of the Roman period:[661] Nea Paphos (with Palaipaphos as its chief sanctuary), Arsinoe, Soloi,

[658] Jones (1937), 371-2; Hill (1940), 231, 239-40; Vessberg (1956), 242; Mitford (1980a), 1308-41; Mitford (1990), 2178-94.
[659] Jones (1937), 371. Cf. Burnett (2011), 6, 24-5.
[660] Cf. Watkin (1988), 193-4: 188-93: the inclusion of the Hellenistic tribute lists in his study on the development of the Hellenistic and Roman Cypriot cities is useful.
[661] Georgius Cyprus, *Descriptio Orbis Romani*, 1096-1110. Cf. Jones (1937), 552, Appendix IV, Table L.

Kourion, Amathous, Kition, Keryneia, Karpasia, Tamassus, Salamis, Lapethus, and Chytroi.[662] (Figure Three)

4.1.4. This investigation.

The civic identities of four major *poleis* will be examined in detail. These cities will be: Nea Paphos (including Palaipaphos), Kourion, Amathous, and Salamis. These four *poleis* have been selected because they spread from the south west to the east of the island and also because the surviving material and literary evidence for the culture and society of these *poleis* allows for useful comparisons to be made. Reference to other *poleis*, and the surrounding *chora* of these cities, will be made where relevant.

This chapter will present a survey of each *polis* which will begin with a brief overview of the history of scholarship and traditional characterisation of the *polis*. This will be followed by study of the foundation myths of the *polis* and then a brief overview of local religious practice and organisation. Each section of the survey will consider the significance and use of myth. Various studies of the *polis* as an entity in the ancient world have emphasised the importance of mythology and religion to the understanding of the *polis* and its people.[663] Pozzi and Wickersham explained:

'We lack the core of the concept (of the *polis*) unless we emphasise the myths, which were a vector for the culture of the *polis* and an embodiment of its values and sense of identity ... the collective actions of the Greek *polis* express a culture conveyed in myth, and

662 Jones (1937), 372.
663 Cf. Pozzi and Wickersham eds. (1991); Pozzi and Wickersham (1991); Wickersham (1991); Demand (1996); Hansen and Raaflaub eds. (1996).

that the extent to which citizens acted amythically or paramythically was minor or minimal.'[664]

Wickersham's article 'Myth and Identity in the Archaic *Polis*' emphasised the power of myth and its importance for the *polis*, particularly in the case of intercity conflict and crisis between Athens and Megara.[665] The dispute between the two cities concerned the possession of the island of Salamis. In order to resolve the crisis, both cities argued their cases for possession of the island by citing their local mythologies. As a result the Athenian myth won out. Sourvinou-Inwood's study 'What is *polis* religion?' also highlights the significance of religious activity and ideology for providing 'the framework and symbolic focus on the *polis*'.[666]

The use, maintenance, and adaption of myth in the Roman period of each city could potentially reveal the generation, construction, and perception of civic identity by both insiders and outsiders. This is of interest when considering civic rivalry and appeals by the cities to be recognised as a *metropolis* of Cyprus. Many studies have explored the appearance and use of different foundation myths for the Cypriot *poleis*; in some cases the myths are scrutinised alongside evidence for the settlement of ancient sites in ancient literature.[667] The foundation myths of the Cypriot *poleis* are recorded in a variety of ancient texts and were adapted over time by different authors. Regardless of whether archaeology matches the accounts of ancient authors, one thing appears as striking; many of the *poleis* of Cyprus were

[664] Pozzi and Wickersham (1991), 1-2.
[665] Wickersham (1991); Plutarch, *Solon*, 10.
[666] Sourvinou-Inwood (1990), in general, but particularly 322. Cf. also Price (2012) in general for a recent discussion of the spread of religions across the Roman Empire and the importance of considering the variety of cults attested in different localities.
[667] Gjerstad (1944); Fraser (1979); Fortin (1980), (1984); Maier (1986); Karageorghis (2005), 15-20; Fourrier (2008).

foundations of Greek heroes, particularly heroes returning from the Trojan War.[668] Einer Gjerstad observed that evidence for the use and adaptation of Cypriot foundation myths generally reflected the colonisation and settlement of Cyprus and, in doing so, followed 'the usual Greek system used in reconstructing ethnic movements of earlier times'.[669] For Gjerstad, the settlement of Cyprus was explained by locally *and* externally inspired myths which were politically motivated: for instance myths relating to the settlement of Salamis, Akamas, Soloi, Chytroi, and Golgoi were contrived to justify the claims of Athens on colonised settlements and only the settlement of Salamis, supported by archaeology, corresponded with the foundation myth of the city.[670] The relationship between the colonisation of Cyprus and the circulation of foundation myths has been closer examined by M. Fortin who, through the investigation of more recent archaeological studies, revealed that the foundation myths of many other cities corresponded to archaeological evidence of settlement in Cyprus, particularly Nea Paphos, Kourion, Amathous, Soloi.[671] Close attention will be given to the use and significance of foundation mythologies in shaping the expression of identity in the *poleis* in the Roman period. It is important to push this further by considering the significance of the name of a *polis* in the Roman period if it reflected its foundation. Literary evidence reflecting the traditions and ideologies associated with a region and with a *polis* within that region, tells us something about how civic identity was constructed by individuals and communities who were outsiders. Subsequent use, abandonment, and adaption of foundation myths, as well as other mythological stories

[668] Of the many accounts, Lykophron's epic *Alexandria* best details the foundation of Cypriot *poleis* by five heroes returning from Troy in one text: the foundation of Teukros, lines 450-78; the foundation of Agapenor, lines 479-93; the foundation of Akamas, line 494; the foundation of the obscure heroes Kepheus and Praxandros, lines 586-91.
[669] Gjerstad (1944), 107.
[670] Gjerstad (1944).
[671] Fortin's (1980) study further investigated the foundations of Palaipaphos, Soloi, Kourion, and Salamis; his (1984) study Palaipaphos and Amathous.

associated with a region or *polis* will be central to the next strand, namely local religious practice and organisation. The etymology of the name of each *polis* and the significant of this will be considered in the final conclusions of this thesis. In each section, a short summary of the religious practices of the *polis* in the Hellenistic period will be provided before evidence from the Roman period. Evidence from the Roman period will begin with discussion of the chief deity of the *polis*, and will be followed by a brief sketch of the worship of other deities in alphabetical order. A brief consideration of local worship in the Ptolemaic period will be essential in order to consider the phenomenon of cultural change and the choices of the city in adopting, maintaining, and adapting the worship of particular deities. The headings of each topic highlight the way in which many aspects of *polis* daily life and *polis* ideology overlapped, while encompassing other themes that will run as an undercurrent in this chapter, such as the organisation and experience of time and physical space in and around the *polis*.

Finally in this chapter, particular emphasis will be placed on the theme of identity in Roman Cyprus in relation to the wider, cultural phenomenon synonymous with the Imperial Greek East, commonly referred to as the 'Second Sophistic'.[672] Fujii's summary of Cypriot integration into the cultural politics of Hadrian has paved the way for further investigation of Cyprus' significance in relation to wider cultural trends that occurred in the Greek East under Rome. Opinion on the motivations of the sophists of the 'Second Sophistic' has dominated studies of this cultural phenomenon. Discussion has moved on from debates about the 'Second Sophistic' as being a Greek cultural outburst, expressing dissatisfaction with the limited political power of Greece under Rome, and a defiant rejection of Roman power and

[672] Key reading remains: Bowersock (1969); Bowie (1970); Bowersock (1974); Bowie (1982); Anderson (1993); Swain (1996); Goldhill ed. (2001); Whitmarsh (2005); Swain, Harrison, and Elsner, eds. (2007); Swain (2007).

culture.[673] In general, the themes of Greek identity, civic rivalry, and cultural assimilation prevail in discussions of the 'Second Sophistic'.[674]

In recent years, 'Second Sophistic' scholarship has recognised the importance of including material evidence, particularly inscriptions, in investigations of expressions of cultural and local identity. For example, Goldhill championed the notion that visual and material culture could further develop our understanding of the 'Second Sophistic' as the performativity of setting up public monuments and subsequent interaction and interpretation of them was key to the memorialisation of cultural identity.[675] However, his edited volume contained only one article which did not heavily rely on the analysis of literary evidence.[676] Swain, Harrison, and Elsner's *Severan Culture* contains a more balanced analysis of literary and material culture in exploring the themes of culture and identity across the Roman Empire in the period of Severan rule.[677]

One aim of this chapter is to demonstrate the benefits of including material evidence in Second Sophistic scholarship. Where possible, analysis of inscriptions, coins, art, architecture, and mosaics, will complement analysis of literary evidence. Because of the nature of the material evidence being analysed, the range of individuals and groups that will be a part of this investigation will not be representative of traditional second sophistic studies. Sophists, rhetors, and philosophers will not be key figures in this study, but it will focus instead upon the Roman Emperor, Roman officials, local magistrates, and local elites. While this chapter will place considerable focus on the 'Second Sophistic', evidence from the beginning of Roman rule will be included too. This is key in order to understand whether the

[673] Bowie (1970), 17-9, 30, 37, 40-1; Whitmarsh (2005), 23-40.
[674] Bowersock (1969), 15-6. Cf. Goldhill (2001), 14-5; Burrell (2004).
[675] Goldhill (2001), 9-10, 13.
[676] van Nijf (2001).
[677] Swain, Harrison, Elsner eds. (2007).

literary and material culture that emerged during the second to third-centuries AD bore traces of ideas about civic identity that were in existence prior to Roman rule, and how local expressions of identity by or within a *polis* were amalgamated with Roman symbols to create a new, evolving civic identity. Identifying instances of deliberate archaisms and evocative visual and material expressions of a local ancient past is instructive when analysing literature, inscriptions, and coins.[678]

[678] For instance, Spawforth and Walker (1986), 100-1.

4.2. Nea Paphos and Palaipaphos.

(Figures Three and Seven)

4.2.1. Previous study and characterisation of Nea Paphos and Palaipaphos.

Nea Paphos and Palaipaphos have proven rich case studies for investigations of ancient Cyprus. Investigations of Roman Nea Paphos, independent from general historical overviews of Cyprus, have explored the topography of the city and the development of its institutions, as well as its religious landscape.[679] Notable features of Nea Paphos included its harbour, theatre, amphitheatre, *agora*, and temples, most of which have not survived antiquity or lie in ruins. The survival of several private villas in Nea Paphos is noteworthy because of the quality of their mosaics and their subject matter. The now-called Villa of Theseus, House of Dionysus, House of Orpheus, and House of Aion are adorned with fine mosaics which reflect styles from Syria and Africa, suggesting the multiple foreign artistic trends and influences in Roman Cyprus.[680]

4.2.2. Settlement and foundation myths: Palaipaphos and Nea Paphos.

Literature from the seventh century BC onwards describes the renown of Palaipaphos as the site of Aphrodite's place of birth and her sanctuary.[681] The foundation myths of

[679] Paphos has been excavated by a team headed by the University of Zurich, the publications of their preliminary and final reports have been published in the series "Ausgrabungen in Alt-Paphos auf Cypern".
For an overview of the city: Nicolaou (1966); Mitford (1980a), 1309-15; Mitford (1980b) in general; Mitford (1990); 2178-83; Karageorghis and Maier (1984); Watkin (1988), 305-27; Młynarczyk (1990). For an overview of the sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia at Palaipaphos see below, footnote 728.
Epigraphic surveys: Hogarth, James, et al. (1888); Mitford (1961b); *I.Paphos*.
Studies on specific structures: Młynarczyk (1980); Michaelides (1984); For studies on the mosaics of Nea Paphos see footnote below. For the theatre: Green and Stennett (2002); Sear (2006). Other theatres are attested in Cyprus. See Sear (2006), 381 for the theatre of Kition, capacity unknown; 381 for the theatre of Kourion, capacity 2600-3200; 383 for Salamis, capacity 9400-11,700; 384 Soloi, capacity 2400-3000.

[680] Vermeule (1976), 78. A recent discussion with a complete bibliography of past study of the mosaics of Paphos can be found in *I.Paphos*, 432-3.

[681] For example, Homer, *Odyssey*, 8.362; Virgil, *Aeneid*, 1.415. Ancient sources attesting the site of Palaipaphos and the worship of Aphrodite have been treated by: Engel (1841), 91-135; Młynarczyk (1990), 23-35; *I.Paphos*,

Palaipaphos and the consecration of the sanctuary are preserved by Herodotus, Strabo, Tacitus, Pausanias, and 'Pseudo-Apollodorus'.

The earliest account of Palaipaphos' foundation was recorded by the fifth century BC historian Herodotus.[682] According to Herodotus, the sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia at Palaipaphos was founded from the oldest temple of the goddess (Ourania), the Temple of Aphrodite Ourania in Ascalon. Herodotus stated that the Cypriots themselves said that their temple was founded by Phoenicians who were originally from Syria. This account makes it clear that the Cypriots were aware of the eastern origins of their most celebrated goddess, something that was later echoed by Pausanias writing in the second century AD.[683] While Herodotus' version of the foundation of the sanctuary at Palaipaphos does not fall within the time frame of this study, his description of the sanctuary is relevant to this investigation of local identity.

The earliest written account known from the Roman period of Paphos' foundation and history can be found in Strabo's, *Geographica*, 14.6.3:[684]

εἶθ᾽ ἡ Πάφος, κτίσμα Ἀγαπήνορος καὶ λιμένα ἔχουσα καὶ ἱερὰ εὖ κατεσκευασμένα.

Embedded in a sweeping narrative of Cyprus' landscape, Strabo briefly noted that the Greek hero Agapenor founded Paphos.[685] While it may appear that Strabo's reference to 'Paphos' is ambiguous as it is not explicit whether he was referring to Palaipaphos or Nea Paphos, it has been suggested that the foundation of Agapenor, mentioned by Strabo, was of

29-38; Karageorghis (2005) 13-20. The most comprehensive presentation of the literary sources from all of antiquity to the twentieth-century can be found in Näf (2013).

[682] Herodotus, *Historiae*, 1.105.2-3.

[683] Pausanias, 1.14.7.

[684] All literary translations are the author's own: Then to Paphos, which was founded by Agapenor and has a harbour and well-built temples.

[685] Agapenor was a hero from Troy who founded Paphos on his return from the war. Cf. Näf (2013), 16. This version of the foundation myth is provided in more detail by Pausanias, 8.5.2-3 and will be discussed later in this chapter in section **4.5.2**.

Nea Paphos.[686] Młynarczyk's study of Hellenistic Nea Paphos examined the accounts of various ancient authors who wrote about Cyprus and concluded that in cases where the city is not distinguished it must be assumed that the ancient author was discussing Nea Paphos.[687] About this, various interpretations have been suggested and these will be discussed shortly.

While Strabo cited Agapenor as the founder of Paphos, Tacitus wrote of two different founders of the sanctuary: an otherwise unknown King Aerias and the well-known mythological figure Kinyras.

Tacitus, *Historiae*, 2.3.1:[688]

Conditorem templi regem Aeriam vetus memoria, quidam ipsius deae nomen id perhibent. Fama recentior tradit a Cinyra sacratum templum deamque ipsam conceptam mari huc adpulsam; sed scientiam artemque haruspicum accitam et Cilicem Tamiram intulisse, atque ita pactum ut familiae utriusque posteri caerimoniis praesiderent. Mox, ne honore nullo regium genus peregrinam stirpem antecelleret, ipsa quam intulerant scientia hospites cessere: tantum Cinyrades sacerdos consulitur. Hostiae, ut quisque vovit, sed mares deliguntur: certissima fides haedorum fibris. Sanguinem arae obfundere vetitum: precibus et igne puro altaria adolentur, nec ullis imbribus quamquam in aperto madescunt. Simulacrum deae non effigie humana, continuus orbis latiore initio tenuem in ambitum metae modo exurgens, set ratio in obscuro.

Not only does this account name King Aerias and Kinyras as founders, it also reveals the traditions and practices of the sanctuary. According to the fifth century AD lexicographer Hesychius, 'Aeria' was an ancient name for Cyprus.[689] The figure of Kinyras is far better

[686] Młynarczyk (1990), 23, 28-9.
[687] Młynarczyk (1990), 23-5.
[688] Translation: The founder of the temple, according to old tradition, was King Aerias, though some hold that this is the name of the goddess herself. Later reports tell us that the temple was consecrated by Kinyras and the goddess herself was driven to here after her birth from the sea; but knowledge and craft of the diviners was brought in as an import by Tamiras of Cilicia, and that it was agreed that the descendents of both families should preside over the worship. Soon after, so that the royal family might not be without some superiority over the foreign stock, they (the Tamirades) ceased the craft which they themselves introduced: only the priest of the line of Kinyras is consulted. The victims are in the manner that each (worshipper) has dedicated, but males are selected: the most certain of guarantees are in the entrails of kids. It is forbidden for blood to spill blood on the altar: with prayers and pure flame the place of sacrifice is served, and though it stands in the open air it is never wet with rain. The image of the goddess does not bear the shape of a human, it is unbroken circular rising like a cone from a broad base to a small circumference, but the meaning is obscure.
Repeated in Tacitus, *Annales*, 3.62.4.
[689] Hesychius s.v. ἀερία; Karageorghis (2005), 14; Näf (2013), 15.

attested in ancient literature and his origins as a local Cypriot King or a King of Assyrian descent varies according to different accounts of his life and deeds.[690] A myth preserved in the *Bibliotheca*, by 'Pseudo-Apollodorus', is the only account written under the Roman Empire which specifically names Kinyras as the founder of the sanctuary.

'Pseudo-Apollodorus', *Bibliotheca*, 3.14.3-4:[691]

Ἔρσης δὲ καὶ Ἑρμοῦ Κέφαλος, οὗ ἐρασθεῖσα Ἠὼς ἥρπασε καὶ μιγεῖσα ἐν Συρίᾳ παῖδα ἐγέννησε Τιθωνόν, οὗ παῖς ἐγένετο Φαέθων, τούτου δὲ Ἀστύνοος, τοῦ δὲ Σάνδοκος, ὃς ἐκ Συρίας ἐλθὼν εἰς Κιλικίαν, πόλιν ἔκτισε Κελένδεριν, καὶ γήμας Φαρνάκην τὴν Μεγασσάρου τοῦ Ὑριέων βασιλέως ἐγέννησε Κινύραν. οὗτος ἐν Κύπρῳ, παραγενόμενος σὺν λαῷ, ἔκτισε Πάφον, γήμας δὲ ἐκεῖ Μεθάρμην, κόρην Πυγμαλίωνος Κυπρίων βασιλέως, Ὀξύπορον ἐγέννησε καὶ Ἄδωνιν, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις θυγατέρας Ὀρσεδίκην καὶ Λαογόρην καὶ Βραισίαν. αὗται δὲ διὰ μῆνιν Ἀφροδίτης ἀλλοτρίοις ἀνδράσι συνευναζόμεναι τὸν βίον ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ μετήλλαξαν. Ἄδωνις δὲ ἔτι παῖς ὢν Ἀρτέμιδος χόλῳ πληγεὶς ἐν θήρᾳ ὑπὸ συὸς ἀπέθανεν. Ἡσίοδος δὲ αὐτὸν Φοίνικος καὶ Ἀλφεσιβοίας λέγει, Πανύασις δέ φησι Θείαντος βασιλέως Ἀσσυρίων, ὃς ἔσχε θυγατέρα Σμύρναν. αὕτη κατὰ μῆνιν Ἀφροδίτης (οὐ γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐτίμα) ἴσχει τοῦ πατρὸς ἔρωτα, καὶ συνεργὸν λαβοῦσα τὴν τροφὸν ἀγνοοῦντι τῷ πατρὶ νύκτας δώδεκα συνευνάσθη. ὁ δὲ ὡς ἤσθετο, σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος ἐδίωκεν αὐτήν: ἡ δὲ

[690] For general discussion of Kinyras and Cyprus Cf. Maier (1986); Baurain (1988); *I.Paphos*, 34-8; Näf (2013), 18.

[691] Translation: Herse had by Hermes (a son) Kephalus, whom Dawn loved and carried off and mixing with him in Syria bore a son Tithonus, who had a son Phaethon, (of this) a son Astynous, who had a son Sandocus, who passed from Syria to Cilicia, who founded the city Kelenderis, and having married Pharnace daughter of Megassares the king of Hyria, produced Kinyras. He (Kinyras) in Cyprus had come with some people, founded Paphos, and there having married Metharme, daughter of Pygmalion king of Cyprus, produced Oxyporus and Adonis, and besides them daughters Orsedice, Laogone and Braesia. These lay with other men and, because of the wrath of Aphrodite, ended their lives in Egypt. Adonis, while still a boy, was struck in the gut and killed in the hunt by a boar because of the wrath of Artemis. Hesiod, however, says that he was a son of Phoenix and Alphesiboea; and Panyasis says he was a son of Thias king of Assyria, (and) he had a daughter Smyrna. As a result of the anger of Aphrodite (for she - Smyrna - did not honour her), she conceived a passion for her father, and with the complicity of her nurse she shared her father's bed without his knowledge for twelve nights. But when he was aware, he drew his sword and pursued her: and being seized she prayed to the gods that she might become invisible. The gods in compassion turned her into a tree, they call (the tree) Smyrna. Months after the tree burst and Adonis, as he is called, was born, whom for the sake of his beauty while he was still an infant, Aphrodite hid in a chest unknown to the gods and entrusted him to Persephone. But when Persephone beheld him, she would not give him back. The case was tried before Zeus, he ordained that the year was divided into three parts and that Adonis should stay by himself for one part of the year, with Persephone for one part, and with Aphrodite for the remainder: but Adonis gave over to Aphrodite his own share in addition, but soon after in a hunt he was gored and killed by a boar.

περικαταλαμβανομένη θεοῖς ηὔξατο ἀφανὴς γενέσθαι. θεοὶ δὲ κατοικτείραντες αὐτὴν εἰς δένδρον μετήλλαξαν, ὃ καλοῦσι σμύρναν. δεκαμηνιαίῳ δὲ ὕστερον χρόνῳ τοῦ δένδρου ῥαγέντος γεννηθῆναι τὸν λεγόμενον Ἄδωνιν, ὃν Ἀφροδίτη διὰ κάλλος ἔτι νήπιον κρύφα θεῶν εἰς λάρνακα κρύψασα Περσεφόνῃ παρίστατο. ἐκείνη δὲ ὡς ἐθεάσατο, οὐκ ἀπεδίδου. κρίσεως δὲ ἐπὶ Διὸς γενομένης εἰς τρεῖς μοίρας διῃρέθη ὁ ἐνιαυτός, καὶ μίαν μὲν παρ᾽ ἑαυτῷ μένειν τὸν Ἄδωνιν, μίαν δὲ παρὰ Περσεφόνῃ προσέταξε, τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν παρ᾽ Ἀφροδίτῃ: ὁ δὲ Ἄδωνις ταύτῃ προσένειμε καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν μοῖραν. ὕστερον δὲ θηρεύων Ἄδωνις ὑπὸ συὸς πληγεὶς ἀπέθανε.

This passage bears similarities with Tacitus' account as it explains Kinyras as originating from Cilicia, the place from where, according to Tacitus, the sacred art of divination that was particular to the sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia derived too. On the genealogy of Kinyras the *Bibliotheca* states that while he was a king of Cyprus, he was born of Sandocus and Pharnace and originated from Cilicia, he came to Cyprus and founded Paphos. There he married Metharme who was a daughter of Pygmalion, who in this version of the myth was named as a king of Cyprus, and from this union was born Oxyporus and Adonis. Many other literary accounts conflate the genealogy of Kinyras with other familiar mythological figures. For example, in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, a certain Paphos is named as the father of Kinyras,[692] and Kinyras the father of Myrrha.[693] While Hyginus *Fabulae* 242, 270, and 275 also named Kinyras as a son of Paphos, he also wrote that Kinyras was king of the Assyrians, which again alludes to his eastern origins.[694] While a variety of myths relating to Kinyras survive from antiquity, most narratives emphasise his connection with Cyprus, Aphrodite, Apollo, and particularly, the Paphos region. The particular association of Kinyras with Cyprus and the Paphos region endured and adaptations of early myths can be seen in texts that were produced under the Roman Empire. For instance, Pliny the Elder firmly

[692] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 10.298; cf. also Hyginus, *Fabulae*, 242, 270, and 275.
[693] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 10.324-514.
[694] Cf. also Hyginus, *Fabula*, 58.

located Kinyras in Cyprus and associated him with establishing activities which were key to the identity of the island, such as copper mining and introducing tools for metallurgy.[695] Herodotus' *Historiae* 1.105.2-3 highlights that the Cypriots, from the fifth century BC, were aware of the eastern origins of their great goddess, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that the association of Kinyras as a founder of Palaipaphos and the sanctaury of Aphrodite Paphia was constructed by insiders, the Cypriots themselves. Pausanias, writing in the second century AD, also confirms that the cult of Aphrodite Ourania was of great importance to the Paphians.[696] A supposedly lost poem of a 'Xenophon of Cyprus', telling of the love stories of Kinyras, Myhhra, and Adonis would provide a unique comparative piece to these outsider sources which document these myths.[697]

Another account of the foundation myth of the Sanctuary of Aphrodite is given by Pausanias, 8.5.2-3:[698]

[2] Ἀγαπήνωρ δὲ ὁ Ἀγκαίου τοῦ Λυκούργου μετὰ Ἔχεμον βασιλεύσας ἐς Τροίαν ἠγήσατο Ἀρκάσιν. Ἰλίου δὲ ἁλούσης ὁ τοῖς Ἕλλησι κατὰ τὸν πλοῦν τὸν οἴκαδε ἐπιγενόμενος χειμὼν Ἀγαπήνορα καὶ τὸ Ἀρκάδων ναυτικὸν κατήνεγκεν ἐς Κύπρον, καὶ Πάφου τε Ἀγαπήνωρ ἐγένετο οἰκιστὴς καὶ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης κατεσκευάσατο ἐν Παλαιπάφῳ τὸ ἱερόν: τέως δὲ ἡ θεὸς παρὰ Κυπρίων τιμὰς εἶχεν ἐν Γολγοῖς καλουμένῳ χωρίῳ. [3] χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Λαοδίκη γεγονυῖα ἀπὸ Ἀγαπήνορος ἔπεμψεν ἐς Τεγέαν τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Ἀλέᾳ πέπλον: τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀναθήματι ἐπίγραμμα καὶ αὐτῆς Λαοδίκης ἅμα ἐδήλου τὸ γένος:“Λαοδίκης ὅδε

[695] Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historiae*, 7.56.195 (on the origins of copper mining); see also 7.48.154 (that Kinyras lived for 160 years).
[696] Pausanias, 1.14.7. Cf. Tacitus, *Historiae*, 2.2-4; *I.Paphos*, 33-4.
[697] Cf. Karageorghis (2005), 22.
[698] Translation: Agapenor, the son of Ancaeus, son of Lycurgus,who was king after Echemus, led the Arcadians to Troy. After the capture of Troy the storm that overtook the Greeks on their return home carried Agapenor and the Arcadian fleet to Cyprus, and so Agapenor became the founder of Paphos and built the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Palaipaphos. Up to that time the goddess had been worshipped by the Cyprians in the *chora* called Golgoi. After, Laodice, a descendant of Agapenor, sent to Tegea a robe as a gift for Athena Alea. The inscription on the offering also told of the race of Laodice: This is the robe of Laodice. She offered it to her Athena, sending it to her broad fatherland from divine Cyprus when Agapenor did not return home from Troy. Other references to Agapenor made by Pausanias: 8.10.10; 8.53.7.

πέπλος: ἑᾷ δ᾽ ἀνέθηκεν Ἀθηνᾷ πατρίδ᾽ ἐς εὐρύχορον Κύπρου ἀπὸ ζαθέας. Ἀγαπήνορος δὲ οὐκ ἀνασωθέντος οἴκαδε ἐξ Ἰλίου.

Written in the second century AD, Pausanias' *Description of Greece* is a work which revived and preserved classical themes through his firsthand accounts and observations during his travels across Greece.[699] According to Pausanias, Agapenor, king of the Arcadians, founded both the city of Paphos and the 'temple' of Palaipaphos after the fall of Troy.[700] As he was sailing back from Ilion, a storm led Agapenor and a fleet of the Arcadians to Cyprus. As we have seen Kinyras was a well-known figure to Greek and Latin authors as he was traditionally associated with the sanctuary and with the goddess Aphrodite. Furthermore, the themes of the eastern associations of the sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia and also of Kinyras were infamous. Pausanias must have been aware of these aspects of the identity of the sanctuary. For instance, he noted in a separate passage that the worship of Aphrodite Ouranios was important to the Paphians and Phoenicians of Askalon.[701] Therefore, his choice to assign the foundation of the sanctuary to Agapenor, and avoid any mention of Kinyras, is interesting and could be considered as deliberate. As an author writing under the Second Sophistic, Pausanias is particularly noted for his agenda in reviving classical Greek history in his work. One can only suggest tentative ideas as to why he made this choice. It could be the case that he chose to focus on the mythologies of other Greek heroes firmly situated in the myths of Homer, such as heroes associated with Troy about whom he wrote extensively.[702]

The question of Paphos' settlement has received much attention because of the variety of myths associated with its foundation and the tendency for ancient authors not to distinguish which site they chose to recount. A popular interpretation is that while the

[699] Elsner (1992).
[700] Cf. Strabo, *Geographica*, 14.6.3. c. 683: Agapenor named as the founder of Paphos but this account does not specifically discuss this foundation of the sanctuary.
[701] Pausanias, 1.14.7. This is an echo of Herodotus, *Historiae*, 1.105.2-3.
[702] Cf. This study, chapter four, section **4.5.2**.

mythologies of Kinyras and Agapenor point to two different foundations of Palaipaphos, that the traditions of their foundations need not exclude one another.[703]

Nea Paphos was founded between 320 to 310 BC, depending on the various material sources that could be taken into account. For some, it seems that Ptolemy I is a likely candidate for transferring the population of Palaipaphos to Nea Paphos in the last decades of the fourth century BC.[704] Others have fixed a date of around 312 BC for the foundation of the new city by King Nikokles, the last king of Paphos, for two reasons.[705] Firstly, as a reward for his loyalty to Ptolemy I, King Nikokles was given the domain and people of Marion (later re-named Arsinoë), which had been destroyed in 312 BC by Ptolemy I.[706] King Nikokles could then have amalgamated the population of his kingdom (Palaipaphos) with those of Marion and transferred them to his newly founded city of Nea Paphos. The construction of a major harbour to improve access to the resources that the island relied on for its economy has been attributed to Nikokles and could be considered as a motive for the foundation of Nea Paphos.[707] Secondly, epigraphic and numismatic evidence attest Nikokles' building projects at both Palaipaphos and Nea Paphos. For instance, an inscription of Nikokles describes his building of a Temple to Artemis Agrotera at Nea Paphos.[708] On the other hand, surviving material evidence also suggests that while Nikokles funded major constructions at Nea Paphos he was also responsible for structures that fortified the ancient city of Palaipaphos, perhaps suggesting that it was still intended to serve his people. An altar from Palaipaphos

[703] Gjerstad (1944), 112; Fourrier (2008), 110. Maier and Karaegeorghis (1984), 51; Maier (1986), 319-20. Cf. *I.Paphos*, 34-5 for an alternative interpretation.
[704] Watkin (1988), 307.
[705] Mitford (1961a), 137, (1980a), 1309, (1990), 2178; Cf. Młynarczyk (1980), 241; Młynarczyk (1990), 67-76; *I.Paphos*, 34.
[706] Cf. Młynarczyk (1980), 241.
[707] Maier and Karageorghis (1984), 224.
[708] Mitford (1947), 200-5, no. 17; *SEG* 18.586; *SEG* 20.251; *ICS* 95-6, no. 1; *CEG* II 870.

also survives which bears Nikokles' name.[709] The inscriptions of Nikokles were primarily concerned with the foundation and restoration of structures of Nea Paphos and Palaipaphos respectively. Furthermore, the discovery of an oracular cave of Apollo Hylates at Nea Paphos has also been associated with Nikokles, or possibly his father Timarchon.[710] One interpretation is that Nikokles sought to Hellenise his kingdom by synthesising local Cypriot deities with Greek gods, as has been argued with this early evidence for the worship of Apollo Hylates; a syllabic inscription discovered in the oracular cave states that the worship of the god was introduced on the command of the goddess Vanassa (an ancient name of the great goddess of Cyprus that pre-dated the emergence of the name Aphrodite Paphia).[711] It is possible that Nikokles sought to claim a divine right to rule by promoting his supposed descent from Kinyras, one of many mythical founders of the Sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia and a high priest of the goddess in order to raise the profile of his kingdom in the classical Greek world.[712] It seems that the ideology of Nikokles as an agent or priest of the goddess Aphrodite extended beyond Paphos. A monument from Ledra (near Nicosia) names Nikokles as a descendent of the mythical founder of the sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia at Palaipaphos, Kinyras.[713]

It is unclear whether the memory of Nikokles, or of Ptolemy I, as founders of Nea Paphos and its structures, played a role in the civic identity of the *polis* in the Roman period. The two monuments of Nikokles from Nea Paphos and Palaipaphos, an altar and marble tablet, do not appear to have been re-used or erased, but because of their fragmentary nature it is difficult to suggest that either 'founder' was memorialised through his monuments in a

[709] Mitford (1961b), no. 1.
[710] Mitford (1939a); Młynarczyk (1980); repeated in Młynarczyk (1990), 76-85.
[711] Młynarczyk (1980), 242; (1990), 79.
[712] Młynarczyk (1980), 243.
[713] *SEG* 20.114; *SEG* 20.251. Cf. Młynarczyk (1980); (1990), 67-76; and *I.Paphos*, 39-44 in general for the syllabic inscriptions of Nikokles, his genealogy, and rule in Cyprus.

public context. On the other hand, the text of each inscription is beautifully and clearly carved,[714] with the name of Nikokles clear and mostly uncorrupted for any audience to read wherever the inscriptions were set up. For Cayla, the age of the kings was a revolutionary period of change in Cyprus and this was most radically felt in Nea Paphos.[715] Nikokles' use of the foundation myth of Paphos and claim that he was descended from Kinyras shows the way in which myths significant politically.

4.2.3. Local religious practice and organisation.

To reconstruct the religious and cultural landscape of Nea Paphos we must rely heavily on inscriptions, coins, mosaics, and literary sources as many structures have not survived from antiquity.[716] Throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods, Nea Paphos was home to a variety of deities, though they have never been considered by scholars as threatening to the status of Aphrodite Paphia at Palaipaphos.[717]

4.2.3.1. The Hellenistic period.

As mentioned above, one of the earliest shrines of the city is a pre-Hellenistic shrine of Apollo Hylates dating back to the fourth century BC.[718] Other temples and shrines epigraphically attested in and around Nea Paphos are those of Artemis Agrotera,[719] Apollo

[714] This stands in great contrast to the general quality and appearance of inscriptions discovered in Cyprus.
[715] *I.Paphos*, 71.
[716] Mitford (1980a), 1312.
[717] Nicolaou (1966), 583; Mitford (1980a), 1313.
[718] Młynarczyk (1990), 76-85, 112 noted above. Mitford (1990), 2182: Mitford restored the heading of a dedication to the Proconsul Titus Clodius Eprius Marcellus as an invocation of Apollo Hylates, thus suggesting that the god was still worshipped at Paphos in the Roman period. Several restorations of this text now suggest that it invoked good fortune. Cf. This study, chapter two, section **2.4.4**. **Nea Paphos Inscription** (*I.Paphos*, no. 238).
[719] *SEG* 18.586; *SEG* 20.251; *CEG* II 870; Mitford (1990), 2182; Młynarczyk (1990), 112.

Myrtates,[720] Leto,[721] Zeus Polieus, and Hera.[722] The worship of these deities is not attested epigraphically or archaeologically in the Roman period and they are thought to have declined by the beginning of Roman rule.[723] Most importantly, the dynastic cult of the Ptolemies and the activities of the Artists of Dionysus in the Hellenistic period indicate the influence of Egypt in Cyprus.[724] Their existence reflects the choices of outsider, such the soldiers stationed at the garrison at Nea Paphos - as is evidenced by the worship of Leto which was possibly introduced by the garrison of Lycia,[725] but also the influence of the Ptolemaic rulers, their court. For instance, the worship of Arsinoë Philadelphus is attested.[726] The presence of cults introduced by foreigners in a city does not necessarily reflect the assimilation of worship by the local inhabitants. In contrast, the worship of Nea Paphos' chief deity, Aphrodite Paphia, is well known at the sanctuary and within the *polis*. Two dedications discovered at Nea Paphos to two separate families suggests that images were dedicated by locals to the goddess within or near her temple in the Hellenistic period.[727]

[720] Mitford (1990), 2182: Hogarth (1889), 24, no. 8; *ICA* 4 (in *RDAC* 1965), 120–1, no. 10; *SEG* 23.655; *I.Paphos*, no. 338. *I.Paphos*, 74 also links this divinity with Myrtle and Myrrha, the daughter of Kinyras who was transformed into myrtle by Apollo.
[721] Mitford (1990), 2182: *BE* (1936), 392; Mitford (1961b), 4-5, no. 4; *SEG* 20.218.
[722] An inscription naming Aphrodite, Zeus Polios, and Hera: *CIG* II 2640; *LBW* III 2795; Hogarth (1889), 35, footnote 2; Mitford (1961b), 38, no. 103; *SEG* 20.210; Mitford (1990), 2183.
The Hellenistic worship of Hera is possibly attested in the environs of Nea Paphos by the fragements of a *lex sacra* relating to her worship, dated to the fourth century BC, she was thought to have had a temple at Agios Moni, the mountains of the Paphos region: Hogarth (1889), 33-4, no. 11; Mitford (1961a), 105-7, no. 8; *SEG* 20.256; *I.Paphos*, no. 337.
[723] Mitford (1990), 2182-3.
[724] Młynarczyk (1990), 138-42 and 149-51. Młynarczyk observed that the professional and religious character of the Guild of Artists of Dionysus on Cyprus did not differ from other guilds of the same name attested elsewhere. Cf. *I.Paphos*, 212-30 for further discussion. See also Anastassiades (2003) for the presence of Egyptian cults in Cyprus.
[725] Mitford (1990), 2182.
[726] For an altar of Arsinoë Philadelphus: *I.Paphos*, no. 339. For the worship of Arsinoë Philadelphus in Nea Paphos: Młynarczyk (1990), 115-20; *I.Paphos*, 80. For her worship in Hellenistic Cyprus in general see Anastassiades (1998).
[727] *SEG* 6.805; 6.815. Cf. Młynarczyk (1990), 112.

4.2.3.2. The Roman period.

The chief deity of Nea Paphos was Aphrodite Paphia and her sanctuary was located at the old settlement of Palaipaphos, now known as modern day Kouklia.

The chief deity: Aphrodite Paphia at Palaipaphos.

Foundations revealed a very basic ground plan of the sanctuary, clearly showing that its foundations lay in the twelfth to eleventh centuries BC and its final building phases were Flavian.[728] (Figure Eight) Nea Paphos and Palaipaphos were devastated by earthquakes, like many Cypriot *poleis*, and received aid from the Roman Emperors, notably Augustus and possibly Titus in order to rebuild it.[729] Franz G. Maier, however, suggested that the sanctuary was not rebuilt by the earthquake relief that was sent to Paphos by Augustus as archaeology does not support the notion that the sanctuary was rebuilt or repaired under Augustus. Although there are very few traces of the Augustan period at the sanctuary, it is difficult to argue from silence, and the possibility of the sanctuary site being reconstructed during his reign cannot be completely ruled out.[730] It is thought that the Flavian reconstruction of the site followed a major earthquake that hit the region in AD 76/77. The surviving foundations of the site reveal two sanctuaries of different orientation, both of which were thought to have been used at the same time during the Roman period.[731] The appearance of the site today does not reflect the prestige of the sanctuary in antiquity.[732] (Figures Nine and Ten) Nevertheless,

[728] Mitford (1990), 2179.
[729] Cassius Dio, 54.23.7. Cf. Seneca, *Epistulae*, 91.9; Seneca, *Naturales Quaestiones*, 6.26.4; Tacitus, *Annales*, 3.62.4.
[730] Maier (2000), 501.
[731] Maier (2000), 496.
[732] For general reading on the excavations at the Sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia at Palaipaphos, and the layout of the sanctuary in the Roman period cf. Hogarth, James, et al. (1888); Maier (1975); Maier and von Wartburg (1988); Maier (1997); Maier (2000).

the wealth of epigraphic evidence from the site demonstrates its connection with the city of Nea Paphos and the vital contribution of the sanctuary to the maintenance of civic identity.

The foundations of a temple to Aphrodite Paphia have never been discovered and much attention has been focused on the mystery of the open air temple or tripartite structure in which the cult statue of Aphrodite was housed, based on representations on coins.[733] Coins and literary accounts describe the goddess as being represented by a baetyl.[734] A large monolithic black stone was discovered on the site and is thought to have been the sacred representation of Aphrodite Paphia.[735] Maier suggested that the shrine that housed the baetyl must have stood in the Roman court, or *temenos*, of the old sanctuary.[736] While it is tempting to interpret the different versions of the sanctuary on the various coins as depicting the sanctuary in its various building phases,[737] it is perhaps more useful to consider the different versions of the iconography on the coinage as simply different interpretations of the sanctuary. For instance, the sanctuary with a single *cella* with a court in front is depicted on the bronze coins of Augustus, Drusus Caesar, Vespasian, Trajan, Hadrian, Gordian and Philip the Arab;[738] a tripartite *cella* without the court is portrayed on silver issues of Vespasian, Titus and Domitian; and a tripartite *cella* with the court is shown on larger bronze coins of Septimius Severus, Iulia Domna and Caracalla.[739]

[733] Parks (2004) Figures 3.2a; 18.10b; 25.12a; 28.13a; 29.14a; 29.15a.
[734] For example, cf Parks (2004) Figures 3.2a; 18.10b; 25.12a; 28.13a; 29.14a; 29.15a. Literary sources include: Tacitus, *Historiae*, 2.2-4; Maximus of Tyre, *Dissertationes*, 8.8; Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii*. 3.58 all refer to the representation of the goddess as a cone.
[735] Cf. Myres (1940-5), 97.
[736] Maier (2000), 502.
[737] Maier (1975), 70; Mitford (1990), 2179.
[738] Maier (1975), 71. For example, cf. images of the single *cella* on the coins of Drusus Caesar *RPC* Vol. I.I, no.3921; Parks (2004), fig. 18 10a and fig. 19 10b. Vespasian: Parks (2004), Fig 28, 13a. [Cf. also Parks (2004) Figures 3.2a; 18.10b; 25.12a; 28.13a; 29.14a; 29.15a].
[739] Maier (1975), 71. Cf. Parks (2004) Figures 33.16a; 35.16c; 35.16e; 36.17a; 38.18a; 41.19a.

Tacitus' account of Titus' visit is most instructive for an understanding of the character of the site during the Roman period.[740] While Paphian customs of worship appear very ancient in this passage it has been suggested that they do not necessarily go back to the first age of the sanctuary, but perhaps reflect the customs and traditions that were introduced and myths retold during the period of the Cypriot Kings in the Archaic Period.[741] The passage reveals that even to a visitor or pilgrim of the first century AD, the sanctuary was an unusual amalgamation of building types steeped in antiquity and traditions relating to its foundation myth. It could be argued that the layout and architecture of the sanctuary appear haphazard as a result of the practicality of rebuilding the site after the earthquakes which destroyed it on several occasions. Clearly this sanctuary was a very active and important site and needed to be functioning at all times. Furthermore, the re-use of old building material preserved the antiquity of the site too. It was arguably not a conscious decision to archaise the sanctuary, but it did not do any harm to the image of the site.[742]

The identity of Aphrodite Paphia.

Aphrodite's status as the chief deity of Cyprus was infamous in antiquity.[743] While Homer's *Iliad* presents Aphrodite as the daughter of Zeus, Hesiod's *Theogony* places great emphasis on the aetiology of her name and birth by giving his reader a most detailed account.[744] Her 'eastern origins' are subtly suggested in Hesiod's portrayal of the sequence of events after her birth. Before journeying to Cyprus, she went to Cythera, a Phoenician settlement. As previously highlighted, Herodotus' *Historiae* also suggests that Aphrodite

[740] Tacitus, *Historiae*, 2.2-4.
[741] *I.Paphos*, 70-1.
[742] Cf. Potter (2000), 848.
[743] For example, Homer, *Iliad*, 5.330; 5.422; 5.458; 5.760; 5.883; *Odyssey*, 8.362-3: and *Homeric Hymns* 6.1-21, 5 and 10.
[744] Homer, *Iliad*, 3.374; 5.131; 5.312; 5.348; 5.370-1; 5.375-81; Hesiod, *Theogony*, 190-200.

Ourania had a sanctuary dedicated to her in Cythera by the Phoenicians, which the Cypriots acknowledged was older than their sanctuary at Paphos.[745] These early accounts confirm questions about the worship of Aphrodite as a goddess of fertility and love outside the traditional Greek pantheon.

The material and literary sources do not neatly point to one particular place of origin for the goddess; many eastern cultures and their cults and forms of worships have been argued to come before the Greek Aphrodite. Many studies have also focused on the fusion of Phoenician influences, among others, with Cypriot traditions which engendered the transformation of the Aphrodite who was worshipped at the various shrines in Cyprus.[746] All of these arguments appear likely. The votive offerings from the Late Bronze Age to the Archaic period found across the island are rich and varied enough to support all of the conclusions. Much emphasis has been placed on the importance of the Achaean, Phoenician and Egyptian settlers who brought these deities with them to Cyprus once they had colonised or settled on the island. Cyprus' position at the crossroads of East and West is not underplayed in explanations for the fusion of influences that shaped the goddess' transformation into the Greek Aphrodite who is particular to Cyprus. Rather amusingly, Marcovich states that 'at the immigration service in Paphos, she changed her name to Aphrodite'.[747]

For the Romans, Aphrodite was the Greek counterpart to Venus, who had a special role to play in the ideology generated firstly by the *Iulii* during the Roman Republic and then later by the Emperor Augustus. It would be a mistake to assume that Aphrodite Paphia and Venus, or the goddess in her other 'Roman' guises such as Venus Genetrix or Venus Victrix,

[745] Herodotus, *Historiae*, 1.105.2-3.
[746] See Rutkowski (1979); Maier (1979); Marcovich (1996); Webb (2003); Budin (2004); Greaves (2004); Karageorghis (2005); Katarzyna (2008); Wieland (2009).
[747] Marcovich (1996), 57.

shared the same identity or that they were worshipped in the same way.[748] The identity and worship of Aphrodite Paphia was specific to Paphos. While this identity was presented as considered ancient and local to Paphos in the Roman period, evidence also points to the recognition and celebration of Aphrodite Paphia as the divine ancestress of Emperor Augustus. What is even more interesting is that the maintenance of this multiple identity was a locally inspired connection made and driven by Paphians, neither by Rome nor by any other outsiders. Two remarkable pieces of evidence support this notion. First is the creation of the Paphian calendar in around 15 BC, which was based on a Julio-Claudian calendar.[749] The second is an oath of allegiance to Tiberius, a marble plaque which was discovered in the floor of a village church roughly two kilometers north of the Sanctuary of Aphrodite at Palaipaphos.[750] Six other known oaths of loyalty, which are dated between 6 BC to AD 37, are useful as comparanda. In date order these inscriptions are known as the oath of Conobaria sworn to Augustus and his heirs;[751] the oath of Samos to Augustus;[752] the oath of loyalty to Augustus from Phazimon-Neapolis, in Pamphylia;[753] the oath of Assos in Troad;[754] and the oath of Aritium from Lusitania.[755] And finally the oath of Sestinum in Umbria belongs to the reign of Gaius Caligula.[756]

[748] This is highlighted by Fujii (2013), 17 in response to Kantiréa (2008).
[749] Cf. This study, chapter four, section **4.1.1**.
[750] Mitford (1960), 75; Cayla (2001), 69; Fujii (2013), 77. This monument has been explored at length by Mitford (1960); Weinstock (1962); Herrmann (1968); Seibert (1970); Price (1984b), 88-9; González (1988); Hermary (1982); Cayla (2001); *I.Paphos*, 298-304; The most recent and fullest study of this inscription can be found in Fujii (2013), chapter four.
[751] 6/5 BC: González (1988), 113.
[752] 6-5 BC; Herrmann (1960) , 70-84, no. 1, 2, 3; Herrmann (1968), 125-6, no. 6.
[753] 3 BC: *IGR* III 137; *OGIS* 532; *ILS* 8781; Herrmann (1968), 123-4, no. 4.
[754] AD 37: *IGR* IV 251; *SIG* III 797; Herrmann (1968), 123, no. 3.
[755] AD 37*: CIL* 2.172; *ILS* 190; Herrmann (1968), 122, no. 1.
[756] *CIL* 11.5998a; Herrmann (1968), 122, no. 2.

Palaipaphos Inscription (Mitford (1960), 75-9):[757]

[νὴ τ]ὴν ἡμετέραν Ἀκραίαν Ἀφροδίτην κα[ὶ]
τὴ[ν ἡμ]ετέραν Κόρην ᵛ καὶ τὸν ἡμέτερον Ὕλά–
τη[ν Ἀπόλλ]ω καὶ τὸν ἡμέτερον Κε[ρ]υνῆτην
Ἀ̣πόλλω ᵛ καὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους σωτῆρας
Διοσκούρους ᵛ καὶ τὴν κοινὴν τῆς νή̣σ̣ου
Βουλαίαν Ἑστίαν ᵛ καὶ θεοὺς θεάς τε τοὺ[ς]
κοινοὺς τῆς νήσου πατρῴ̣ους ᵛᵛ καὶ τὸν
ἔκγονον τῆς Ἀφροδίτης Σεβαστὸν Θεὸν
Καίσαρα ᵛᵛ καὶ τὴν ἀέναον Ῥώμην ᵛ καὶ τοὺ[ς]
ἄλλους θεοὺς πάντας τε καὶ πάσας ᵛ αὐτο[ί]
τε καὶ οἱ ἔκγονοι ἡμῶν ὑπακ̣ούσεσθαι
πειθαρχήσειν ᵛ κατά τε γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλαττ[αν]
εὐνοήσειν ᵛ σεβάσεσθαι *v. 12*
Τιβέριον Καίσαρα Σεβαστοῦ ὑ<ι>ὸν Σεβασ–
τὸν σὺν τῶι ἅπαντι αὐτοῦ οἴκωι ᵛᵛ καὶ ᵛᵛ
τὸν αὐτὸν ἐκείνοις φίλον τε καὶ ἐχθρὸν ᵛ
ἔξειν ᵛ μετά τε τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν μ̣όνοις
Ῥώμη̣ καὶ Τιβερίωι Καίσαρι ᵛ Σεβ̣α̣σ̣τοῦ υἱῶι̣
Σεβαστῶι *-v. 12-* ὑοῖ̣ς̣ τε τοῦ
αἵματος αὐτοῦ ᵛ καὶ οὐδενὶ ἄ̣λ̣λ̣ῳ τῶν
πάντων ᵛ εἰσηγήσεσθαι ψηφίσ[ματ]α
[ἱερά - - -] – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –

Stemma:

Line 3: Κε[ν]υρ[ι]σ̣τὴν Cayla (2001) and *I.Paphos* || Line 21: ψηφίσ[ε]σ[θαι] Weinstock and Herrmann; ψηφ̣ί̣σ̣[ματ]α *I.Paphos*; ψήφισ[μα] Fujii || Line 22: [- - - - -] Weinstock, Hermann, Cayla, *I.Paphos* and Fujii.

Translation:

[By these deities - - -] our Aphrodite Akraia an[d]
ou[r] Kore and ou[r Apollo] Hylates
and our Apollo of Ke[r]yneia
and our saviours the Dioscouroi
and Hestia, common to council of the island,

[757] Other references: *SEG* 18.578; Weinstock (1962), 306-27; *SEG* 23.635; Hermann (1968), 124-5, no. 5; Cayla (2001), 69-81; *SEG* 51.1896; *I.Paphos*, no. 151; Fujii (2013) Paphos Vetus no. 8. Cf. Hermary (1982), 164-5; *SEG* 32.1380. Present Location: Kouklia Museum, Cyprus, inv. n. RR. 95. Inscription and squeeze consulted.

the common ancestral gods and goddesses, and by the
offspring of Aphrodite the God Caesar Augustus
and the everlasting Roma and to all
other gods and goddesses we
ourselves and our offspring (swear) to obey both by land and sea,
to be favourable to, and to worship Tiberius
Caesar Augustus son of Augustus
with all his house and
to hold the same friends and the same enemies
as they and to propose the voting of (divine honours)
to Tiberius Caesar Augustus son of Augustus
and to the sons of his blood
to these only with no other
[-]

Despite the fragmentary state of the inscription, its importance as evidence of dialogue between the centre and periphery of Empire has been emphasised by scholars ever since its discovery. For this reason this study will refrain from repeating already discussed arguments about the features of the text, occasion and character of the oath, but will instead summarise its key features and will focus on the presentation, and identity, of Aphrodite in the text. Discussion of the local deities listed in this oath will take place later on in this chapter and will also be brief.

The oath is thought to have been sworn in AD 14, on the accession of the Emperor Tiberius.[758] It is possible that from Tiberius onwards the taking of an oath of loyalty to a new emperor was an essential part of the Emperor's accession and was renewed each year.[759] Given the proximity of the find spot of this inscription to the sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia,

[758] Cf. Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 26. Mitford (1960), 79; Fujii (2013), 77.
[759] Herrmann (1968); Mitford (1960), 78; Briscoe (1971), 260; Mitford (1990), 2197; Fujii (2013) 89. The Oath of Phazimon in lines 35 to 40 declares that it was sworn throughout the district of the province and by the altars of Augustus which is a helpful indication as to how the swearing of an oath of loyalty was communicated and enacted through a province, creating a sense of shared identity in the experience. Cf. Ando (2000).

it is not unreasonable to suggest that the Cypriots swore this oath at the sanctuary of Aphrodite by an altar or building to which the inscription would have been attached.[760]

While the Cypriot oath has much in common with the other six oaths, it displays some unusual characteristics.[761] Typical features include the enumeration of the θεοί ὁρκιο; the gods by whom the oath is sworn, and the oath proper which make up the first ten lines of the remaining inscription; and the desire to hold the same enemies and friends as Rome featured in lines sixteen to eighteen. A reference to retaliation should the oath be broken is a feature of the oaths of Assos, Aritium, and Phazimon-Neapolis, suggesting that the fragmentary end of the Cypriot oath could have been lengthier.[762] The oaths of Phazimon-Neapolis and Assos are mostly complete and open with references to Roman *consuls*, the date of the oath, and its participants. The Cypriot oath could have opened with a preamble rather than beginning with the enumeration of the gods and the oath proper.[763] The omission of the noun ὁρκος and the verb ὀμνυω are also notable by their absence.[764] Complete, the text of the oath could have run with a preamble including the date and occasion of the oath, a list of important deities headed by Aphrodite of Paphos and of Amathous, and a second list of deities including the Zeus of Salamis and Ouranos, Helios and Ge.[765] Following this would then come the list of

[760] Fujii (2013), 88: that it may have been attached to an altar like structure or a building. *IGR* III 137; Herrmann (1968), 123-4, no. 4, 11. 37-8 and 11. 41-2. Mitford (1960), 77-8; Mitford (1980a), 1350 and Mitford (1990), 2197.
[761] Fujii (2013), chapter four 77-91. For oaths in general see: Herrmann (1968); Mitford (1960); Weinstock (1962); Seibert (1970); González (1988); Cayla (2001); Cancik (2003); *I.Paphos*, no. 151.
[762] Weinstock (1962), 309; Herrmann (1968), 124-5; Mitford (1960), 75; Seibert (1970), 225; *I.Paphos*, no. 151; Fujii (2013), 80-81, and footnote 26.
[763] Fujii (2013), 78. Cf. Weinstock (1962), 309; Herrmann (1968), 102; Seibert (1970), 225.
[764] Fujii (2013), 78; Cf. Weinstock (1962), 309; Herrmann (1968), 102, n. 39; Seibert (1970), 225; *I.Paphos*, no. 151. The use of this vocabulary can be seen in the oath from Phazimon-Neapolis in lines five, nine, and twenty-six and in the oath from Assos in lines nineteen and twenty.
[765] Fujii (2013), 80-1: Ge and Helios are considered as conventional θεοί ὁρκιοι in Greek oaths and appear in the oaths of Phazimon-Neapolis, Assos, and Aritium.

deities that begin our inscription.[766] It is tempting to agree with this proposed restoration, but it is impossible to confirm it.

Particularly fascinating is the inscription's declaration of Cyprus' significance in the divine ancestry of the imperial household which appears centrally in the oath in line eight. The reference to Aphrodite as the ancestress of Augustus is significant because of the renown of Paphos as her home and the most important sanctuary. Given that the oath was locally inspired, possibly composed by the *koinon* of Cyprus in conjunction with the Roman proconsul, this feature of the text is remarkable and would have been a powerful self-declaration of Cyprus' status and importance to the Emperor, as it would have been a reminder to any visitor to the sanctuary who could have seen the inscription *in situ*. In this monument, the identity of Aphrodite Paphia is not compromised in any way. Although her significance in the Imperial ideology is recognised in the oath, it could be argued that the identity and status of the goddess as local is also asserted. Whether the *koinon* of Cyprus despatched an ambassador to inform Tiberius of the establishment of the oath as the Assians and Samians did is unclear.[767] Had they done so, the reference to It is questionable whether the status and localities of the other local deities, which will be discussed shortly, would have struck a chord with the intended audience at Rome; however, their inclusion in the inscription is of equal importance.

The self-representation of Cyprus in this inscription is of a province that is forthcoming in expressing its loyalty to the Emperor and Rome. It is clear that the long established traditions and identity of the local religious practices of Cyprus are carefully not compromised. The oath itself is a remarkable local interpretation of an official document and

[766] Fujii (2013), 80-1.
[767] Cf. lines twenty to twenty-three of the oath of Samos. The oath of Assos was also faithfully reported to the Emperor.

demonstrates that Cyprus was able to align itself with the wider themes of the Empire. Whatever the performative procedure of commemorating and reporting the swearing of this oath of loyalty, the fragmentary remains of the inscription point to the careful construction of identity.

Religious practice at the sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia at Palaipaphos.

Despite the renown of the sanctuary and the varied literary sources which relate to the cult, the worship of Aphrodite Paphia is shrouded in mystery. Nevertheless, literary sources reveal that the sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia was characterised by a sweet fragrance, that rain did not fall in her sanctuary, nor was blood spilt on her altar,[768] that the goddess was associated with flora and fauna, particularly myrtle and the dove.[769]

Several sources also point to oracular consultation that took place at the sanctuary, though how this happened in practice is unknown and therefore difficult to compare with the better documented evidence from other sites, such as the Oracle of Apollo at Delphi.[770] For instance, Tacitus wrote of the origins of divination at the sanctuary and the fact that the priests known as the Tamirades, who practised haruspicy in Cilicia, imported their traditions to the sanctuary and that only priests descended from Kinyras could perform these arts in his day.[771] Another religious practice, apparently specific to Cyprus, is recorded by Pausanias

[768] Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historiae*, 11.210.
[769] For example, accounts from the Roman period include: Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistarum libri*, 15.675f-676c (Aphrodite covers the ship of Herostratus with myrtle after he and his crew endure a storm at sea); Pausanias, 6.24.7 (on the rose and myrtle as sacred to Aphrodite). Näf (2013), 19-21 provides a full account of symbols associated with Paphian Aphrodite by ancient authors.
[770] Cf. Tacitus, *Historiae*, 2.3; Suetonius, *Divus Titus*, 5; Hesychius s.v. Ταμιράδαι.
[771] Chariton, *Callirhoe*, 8.2.7-9.

who wrote that the Cypriots used pigs in the art of divination.[772] One could easily associate this practice with the mythology of Adonis and his death which was caused by a wild boar.[773]

An account by the second century AD author Chariton, in his novel *Callirhoe* 8.2.8-9, is informative of the type of practice that took place at the sanctuary. He informs his reader that Chaireas reached Paphos with his fleet and there he honoured Aphrodite with offerings. Sacrificial animals later served as part of a banquet for the pilgrims, which adds to Strabo's description of the *Aphrodisia*.

Later accounts of Christian authors of the sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia also link the foundation of the sanctuary with the worship of the goddess in the Roman period. For instance, Clement of Alexandria, Lactantius, and Firmicius Maternus created persuasive arguments against the practice and wickedness of pagan religion by drawing upon the practices of sacred marriage and the origins of sacred prostitution at the sanctuary.[774] For these authors the worship of Aphrodite Paphia continued to be associated with Kinyras and the identity of the cult revolved around immoral sexual practices, an obvious trope to denounce the corrupt and morally damaging nature of pagan religion. It is impossible to ascertain for certain whether such practices took place, but the very fact that the sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia at Palaipaphos was strongly associated with sacred prostitution is significant for this investigation as it reveals how outsiders perceived and reconstructed the identity of the local cult, particularly from the second century AD onwards.[775] For instance,

[772] Pausanias, 6.2.5.
[773] Cf. 'Pseudo-Apollodorus', *Bibliotheca*, 3.14.4.
[774] Justinus, *Epitoma Historiarum Philippicarum, Pompei Trogi*, 18.5; Lactantius, *Divinae Institutiones*, 1.17.4; Firmicius Maternus, *De Errore Profanarum Religionum*, 10.1; cf. Näf (2013), 59-62.
[775] Primary sources on sacred prostitution at the sanctuary: Homer, *Odyssey*, 8.363-366; *Hymn to Aphrodite* 5.58-65; Herodotus, *Historiae*, 1.199.

the Christian theologian Clement of Alexandria used the myths of Kinyras and his association with Aphrodite and Cyprus to rail against the wickedness of pagan religion.[776]

Organisation and administration of the cult.

How the cult of Paphian Aphrodite was organised in the Roman period is unclear. It is possible that a hierarchy under a high priest existed.[777] However, the passage by Tacitus reveals that only a descendant of Kinyras could perform the act of reading oracles at the sanctuary, suggesting also that priests were still considered as 'descendants' of Kinyras in the Roman period.[778] From the Roman period, as few as five inscriptions hint at the organisation and administration of the cult at Palaipaphos.[779] An erased monument, dated to the reign of Caligula, names some administrators of the cult which could suggest that the cult was organised by a committee.[780] It also appears that the tenure of the High Priesthood of the cult was a position that was held for life, if it was no longer hereditary.[781]

The only known example of evidence which directly shows how insiders of the island utilised the association of Kinyras in the Roman period is an inscription discovered at the sanctuary of Paphian Aphrodite dating to the second century AD. This monument reveals

[776] Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus*, 2.12: he also suggested that Kinyras was diviner and that this was a practice of the sanctuary.
[777] Mitford (1980a), 1315. For Hellenistic organisation of worship of Aphrodite Paphia: Młynarczyk (1990), 113.
[778] Tacitus, *Historiae*, 2.2.3. Cf. Hesychius s.v. Κινυράδαι; Ταμιράδαι.
[779] Mitford (1990), 2180, and footnote 17:
[A] Hogarth, James, et al. (1888), no 104b; (*IGR* III 956).
[B] Mitford (1950b), 56, no. 30; Mitford (1980a), 1315, footnote 103; *SEG* 30.1633.
[C] Seyrig (1927), 139–43, no. 3; *SEG* 6.810; *BE* (1928), 382–83; *I.Paphos*, no. 232; Fujii (2013) Paphos Nova no. 5.
[D] Hogarth, James, et al. (1888), 252, no. 111; *IGR* III 947; Seyrig (1927), 140-3; *SEG* 6.811; Mitford (1947), 212-4, no. 4; *I.Paphos*, no. 156; Fujii (2013) Paphos Vetus no. 17.
[E] Cf. This chapter, section **4.2.3.2**. **Palaipaphos Inscription** (*I.Paphos*, no. 181).
[F] An inscription restored by Mitford possibly details the position of a priesthood of Aphrodite, though it is too fragmentary to comment on: Mitford (1990), 2181, and footnote 20.
[780] Mitford (1950b), 56, no. 30; Mitford (1980a), 1315, footnote 103; *SEG* 30.1633.
[781] Mitford (1990), 2180-1.

how the mythology of Kinyras could have been significant to the local identity of Nea- and Palaipaphos and its inhabitants.

Palaipaphos Inscription (*I.Paphos*, no. 181):[782]

[Ὁ ἱερεὺς Παφίας Ἀφρο]δίτης ?
Διονυσό[δωρος, -5/12-] Διονυσίου
Κινύραρ[χον, -7/14-]μου, φιλοτειμίας
καὶ e.g. φι[λαγαθίας χάριν], τὸν πατέρα.

Stemma:

Line 1: [ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀφρο]δίτης Mitford (1990); *SEG* || Line 1-2: [Ἀφρο]δίτης ׀ Διονυσό[δωρος Διονύσιον τὸν υἱὸν] Διονυσίου Hogarth, James, et al.; [οἱ ἱερεῖς τῆς Παφίας Ἀφρο]δίτης (?) ׀ Διονυσό[δωρον (?) τοῦ δεῖνος (?) τοῦ] Διονυσίου Mitford (1947) || Line 2: Διονυσό[δωρος *vv* τὸν δεῖνα] Διονυσίου Mitford (1990); *SEG*. || Line 3: Κινύραρ[χον τὸν εὐεργέτην (?) τοῦ δή]μου Hogarth, James, et al., Mitford (1947); Mitford (1990); *SEG* || Line 4: καὶ φι[λαγαθίας ἕνεκεν] Hogarth, James, et al., Mitford (1947); καὶ φι[λοστοργίας χάριν] Mitford (1990); *SEG*.

Translation:

[The priest of Paphian Aphro]dite ?
Dionyso[dorus -5/12-] the son of Dionysus
Kinyrar[*ch*, -7/14-] in recognition of
his zeal and [his benevolence], the father.

Initially, Mitford found 'no good explanation for this sudden emergence' of the title of *kinyrarch* on a statue base dated to the second- century AD on the grounds of palaeography.[783] He later corrected this and suggested that it was an archaistic revival of the title of *kinyrarch*, though the honorific purpose eluded him.[784] It appears that the legend of Kinyras remained significant to the organisation and identity of the sanctuary of Paphian Aphrodite during the Roman period. Literary sources and epigraphic evidence reveal that the

[782] Other references: Hogarth, James, et al. (1888), 249, no. 101; Mitford (1947), 229, footnote 121; Mitford (1990), 2181, footnote 21; *SEG* 40.1365. Present Location: Unknown.
[783] Mitford (1980a), 1315 and footnote 105. Mitford (1947), 229, footnote 121.
[784] Mitford (1990), 2182.

priest-kings of Cyprus (including Nikokles as we have seen above) claimed descent from Kinyras and styled themselves the *kinyrades*.[785] After the Ptolemaic annexation of Cyprus, the *Kinyrades* of Palaipaphos were dethroned; they retained the priesthood but relinquished their authority as rulers.[786] Literary sources as late as the fifth- century AD specifically link Kinyras and his descendents to the sanctuary of Paphian Aphrodite and the Paphos region.[787] It seems then that this monument deliberately included a local title that was prestigious as it evoked the origins and administration of the cult by indirectly naming Kinyras and his 'descendants', the powerful priest-kings of Paphos. This monumental and permanent citing of his name could well be unique as no other evidence survives from Roman Cyprus of this title, though it does not mean to say that Dionysodorus and his father were the only individuals to 'revive' this name. As mentioned above, in an inscription from Ledra, Nikokles is named as the son of Kinyras. Does this mean to say that the origins of the sanctuary were indeed revived at pivotal moments in history when the foundation myth mattered significantly in order to assert authority and justify a very real decision in the *polis*? The date of Dionysodorus' monument to his father is significant and although it has been vaguely ascribed to the second century AD, it would not be over optimistic to consider its content as fitting the general scheme of second sophistic assertions of identity through archaistic revival in this period. Clearly the inscription was accompanied by a statue; whether the statue represented the status of the priest as a *Kinyrarch*, perhaps in archaic dress, to emphasise the steeped and local antiquity of the rank of the honorand is unknown but should be considered. Dionysodorus chose to use archaistic language in the title, to evoke the memory of the origins of the sanctuary; the statement of power and local identity is articulated in a public place.

[785] Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus*, 3.40 wrote that Kinyras and his descendants were buried at the sanctuary.
[786] Cf. Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica*, 20.21.3.
[787] Hesychius s.v. Κινυράδαι.

Tacitus' account of the priests of the sanctuary also confirms that when Titus visited only descendants of Kinyras were consulted to read oracles.[788] In comparison, visual representations for Kinyras are minimal. One representation of Kinyras possibly exists on an Attic red figure vase, dated after 330 BC, with Aphrodite.[789] Visual representations of his daughter Myrrha are better preserved and she is clearly represented with Aphrodite, with her son Adonis, and being transformed into a tree.[790]

Votive Offerings.

Cayla's commentary on the inscriptions discovered at the sanctuary observes that the goddess appears epigraphically from the third century BC to the third century AD.[791] A variety of votive dedications have been found which invoke her name. It is clear that the most common type of dedication at the sanctuary was that of a statue, in honour of an individual, which was also dedicated to the goddess.[792] Cayla goes on to state that statues in honour of a person and dedicated to the gods are not frequent across the island, citing as few as eight or even nine other examples from Salamis, Kourion, and Amathous.[793] While it is difficult to estimate the motives of invoking the name of a deity on a statue base, Cayla suggests that a dedication of a statue which invokes the name of Aphrodite Paphia, in the setting of a sanctuary, was a religious act which put the person named on a monument under the

[788] Tacitus, *Historiae*, 2.2-4.
[789] *LIMC* II Vol. I, 117, Aphrodite no. 1199.
[790] *LIMC* VI Vol. I, 691-693.
[791] *I.Paphos*, 69-70. Cf. Karageorghis (2005), 34-40; Wieland and Frey-Asche (2011) for a recent survey of the statuary and fragments discovered at the site. Note also that the second century AD author Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistarum Libri*, 15.675f-676c offers an account whereby a trader named Herostratus landed at Paphos where he bought a statuette of the goddess Aphrodite which was supposedly of ancient workmanship.
[792] *I.Paphos*, 69: Very little has survived of other types of votive offerings. It is therefore difficult to compare the material discovered at the sanctuary with other well-documented sites such as the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias. For example Smith (2006).
[793] *I.Paphos*, 69: Salamis: *I.Salamis*, nos. 46, 47, 49, and possibly 125. Kourion: *I.Kourion*, nos. 41, 49, 50, and 144. Amathous: *BCH* (1980), no. 37.

protection of the goddess.[794] While it is evident that women did not occupy the same place as men in the political life of the cities, something that is clear from the monuments of the high profile families discussed in chapter three, the balance of female and male names on statue bases discovered at the sanctuary is significant. Cayla suggests that women could have enjoyed some prominence at the sanctuary because of the worship of the Paphian goddess. Furthermore, the way in which Paphian families, particularly the *Ummidii* of Paphos, were distinguished by the name of the maternal grand-father also adds to this notion.[795] The paucity of evidence from datable to the Roman period renders it difficult to draw comparisons with other high profile sanctuaries of the Greek and Roman world.[796]

The chief deity: Aphrodite Paphia at Nea Paphos.

The worship of Aphrodite Paphia in Nea Paphos is attested by inscriptions from the Hellenistic period.[797] Dedications to the goddess found within the city suggest that either a temple to the great goddess was established in the city, or that these inscriptions travelled from the sanctuary itself at a later date, perhaps being used as *spolia*, though this is uncertain.[798] A temple to Aphrodite Paphia is also cited in literary sources from the Roman period, though no references are made to the restoration, rebuilding, or actual use of this

[794] *I.Paphos*, 69, for example Cayla notes that three monuments record parents who set up statues of children and invoked the name of the goddess at the sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia. Cf. *I.Paphos*, nos. 115, 116, 117. Cf. also nos. 247 and the monument to Plautia Elpis.
[795] *I.Paphos*, 70.
[796] Cf. Smith (2006).
[797] Mitford (1990), 2182.
[798] For example:
[A] *SEG* 6.815; Mitford (1938-9), 18, footnote 1 Mitford (1961b), 14-5, under no. 38; *SEG* 20.247; Młynarczyk (1990), table b item 4, pages 157-9.
[B] Mitford (1961b), 36, footnote 97; *SEG* 20.246; *CIG* II 2615; Młynarczyk (1990), table b item 16, pages 157-9; *ICA* 6 (in *RDAC* 1967), no. 4; Młynarczyk (1990), table b item 17, pages 157-9.
[C] *SEG* 6.805; Cf. *SEG* 6.806; Seyrig (1927), 138/9, n. 2; *SEG* 35.1468; Młynarczyk (1990), table b item 3, pages 157-9.
[D] *SEG* 25.1104; *ICA* 6 (in *RDAC* 1967), 85, no. 10; Młynarczyk (1990), table b item 14, pages 157-9.

temple in the Roman period.[799] It is unclear where this temple could have been located and the physical impact that it had on the topography of the city.

The worship of Aphrodite must have made a significant impact on the city, firstly through the physical presence of a temple that may have been set up to the goddess in the city, and, secondly, through the ritual and religious practices associated with the goddess. Strabo's *Geographica*, 14.6.3 describes the route that pilgrims took when they travelled to Nea Paphos to participate in the annual festival of Aphrodite Paphia, the *Aphrodisia*.[800] He wrote that travellers arrived at Nea Paphos' harbour and walked through sacred groves en route to the sanctuary at Palaipaphos. This anecdote enables us to envisage how the presence of Aphrodite Paphia could have been felt at Nea Paphos at the time of this festival. It is possible that during the Roman period the festival was organised by the *koinon* of Cyprus and that it included games and musical and literary contests.[801] The presence of the travellers walking from the harbour, along with the rituals and sacrifices that took place at Geriskopou, would have linked the practices of the cult to the city and the ritual of the *Aphrodisia* would no doubt have been associated with certain areas of the city.

'All the gods and goddesses'.

A dedication to all the gods and goddesses was discovered in Nea Paphos and was originally dated to the second century BC.[802] Second century BC. Recently, Cayla suggested

[799] Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic sources: Homer, *Odyssey*, 8.363-366; *Homeric Hymn* 6.1-3; Roman sources: Chariton, *Callihroe*, 8.2.7-9.
[800] For interpretations of this festival Cf. Karageorghis (2005), 54.
[801] Karageorghis (2005), 54; Näf (2013), 17.
For a bold and detailed interpretation of the rituals of this festival Cf. Vassiliou (2002), 72 and 75. Cf. also Maier (1975), 69; Webb (2003), 19; Wieland (2009), 145. Mitford remained conservative regarding the details of this festival - Mitford (1990), 2179.
[802] *SEG* 23.651; *ICA* 4 (in *RDAC* 1965), 118-9, no. 8.

that this monument should be dated to the first half of the first century AD.[803] The dedication is extremely fragmentary and so it is difficult to analyse who this monument was set up by, in what context the deities were invoked, and how this contributes to our overall picture of the religious landscape of Nea and Palaipaphos.

Asklepius.

Situated next to the odeion at the head of the agora of Nea Paphos are the remains of a sanctuary of Asklepius.[804] The worship of Asklepius and Hygeia is attested in the Hellenistic and Roman periods across the island.[805] Nothing much is known about the organisation of the Asklepieion, or of any of its visitors or their practices. Epigraphic evidence attests that the worship of Asklepius and Hygieia was practised under either Ptolemy Alexander or Soter for all Cyprus. The dedicant of the monument was a high priest of Asklepius for all Cyprus, so it could be possible that the Asklepieion at Nea Paphos was the centre of worship or that the office of high priest for this deity was awarded to the individual at that time. It is likely that the worship of the god continued into the Roman period.[806] The location of the sanctuary is significant: located next to the Odeion, it could be argued that mythologically there is a link between the adjoining constructions. Music and drama would have been performed at the

[803] *I.Paphos*, no. 254.
[804]Maier and Karageorghis (1984), 252. For the *odeon*: Sear (2006), 383.
[805] Mitford (1990), 2182. Cf. also:
[A] Riethmüller (2005), 397, no. 448: in the *chora* of Kition at the Hieron of Eshmun-Asklepius, of Herakles-Melqart and Hygeia.
[B] Riethmüller (2005), 397, no. 449: at Palaipaphos the worship of Asklepios and Hygeia is attested at the end of second to the first centuries BC.
[C] Riethmüller (2005), 398, no. 450: an Asklepeion is attested at the Villa of Theseus, Nea Paphos, in the Roman period suggested by the discovery of statues and statuettes representing the god.
[D] Riethmüller (2005), 398, no. 451: the worship of Asclepius and Hygeia is proven in the gymnasium of Salamis by the discoveries of statues, dated to the reign of the Antonines. Cf. Also Karageorghis and Vermeule (1964), 27, no. 18.
[E] Riethmüller (2005), 398, no. 452: the worship of Asklepius is attested at Tamassos in the Roman perod by the discovery of the head of a statue of the god.
[806] Mitford (1990), 2182, and footnote 29 for restoration of inscription. Cf. Mitford (1961a), 38, no. 102.

Odeion and as the god of music was Apollo, it seems only fitting that the place of worship of his son Asklepius should be situated in close proximity to him. Statuettes discovered of Asklepius also suggest his popularity and worship in private contexts.[807]

Demeter.

The worship of Demeter is implied by the honorific inscriptions that Claudia Rhodoklea set up for her son and grandson. In the monuments she is named the high priestess of Demeter for all Cyprus.[808] Whether this can be taken as evidence for a shrine or temple of Demeter in Nea Paphos is unknown. It has recently been suggested that the worship of Demeter, as attested by the monument set up by Claudia Rhodoklea, was associated with the worship of Aphrodite Paphia. Like the assimilation of the worship of Isis at Amathous, Cayla has suggested the appearance of Demeter in the Paphos region could represent as a chthonic aspect of the cult, whereas the figure of Aphrodite Paphia could represent the heavenly element.[809] Furthermore, he suggested that the worship of Demeter emerged as a result of the introduction of the worship of Livia as Aphrodite in Paphos.[810] For Cayla, the worship of Demeter in Cyprus, with its possible headquarters at Nea Paphos or the sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia, reveals a way in which the women of Roman Cyprus could be involved in the worship of the Roman Emperors. This is a bold idea, but a useful one to consider.

[807] Karageorghis (1968b), 337.
[808] Mitford (1990), 2182. Cf. This study, chapter three, section **3.3.1**. **Palaipaphos Inscription** (*I.Paphos*, no. 172).
[809] *I.Paphos*, 335.
[810] *I.Paphos*, 335, and nos. 145 and 152.

Kinyras.

For the recent hypothesis suggested by Cayla that a hero cult to Kinyras existed in the Paphos region we must return to the oath of allegiance to Tiberius and also sanctuary of Opaon Melanthios. The qualification of the first group of deities listed in the inscription as 'local' to Cyprus is made clear by the possessive adjective ἡμετέραν, ἡμέτερον and ἡμετέρους before their epithets in lines one to five.[811] There are very few epigraphic and literary references to some of the deities included in the inscription which also suggests that they were not of wider renown.[812] Of particular interest to this study is the identity of 'Apollo Keryneia', in line three of the text, as the appearance of this deity has been considered as something of an anomaly since the discovery of the inscription. Mitford initially questioned the status of the town of Kyreneia as it was not known for its worship of Apollo. While he considered the epithet of Kyreneia as unusual, he concluded that it was a reasonable restoration of the damaged stone.[813] Mitford suggested that the deities which were preceded with the epithet 'our' were representative of the regions of Cyprus: Aphrodite Akraia represented the long eastern appendage of the island; Apollo of Hyle and Keryneia respectively of its southern and northern coasts; the Dioskouroi to Soloi and the west of the island (based on the slender evidence of finds from the sanctuary at Soloi); and Kore for the eastern portion of the central plain of the island.[814]

Cayla's interpretation of the monument was that the inscription was drafted exclusively by the city of Paphos and that the possessive adjective *hemeteros* of lines one to

[811] Mitford (1960), 76.
[812] Hermary (1982); Fujii (2013), 78-82; for the Roman deities listed in the oath cf. 82-5. *I.Paphos*, 74-5 on the deities listed in the oath.
[813] Mitford (1960), 76. Cf. Fujii (2013), 79, and footnote 19. The inscription has been consulted and is too damaged to restore this line, furthermore, the squeeze made by Mitford has been studied too but this is damaged also.
[814] Mitford (1960), 77: Claudius Ptolemy, *Geographia*, 13.14.5. Mitford (1958), 9; Mitford (1960), 77; Hermary (1982).

five identifies the deities as local and specific to the Paphos region. His reading of the damaged ending of line three was also controversial as he suggested a new reading of the epithet of Apollo as Κε[ν]υριστην**,** an etymological reading of the name Kinyras.[815] For Cayla, the alternative reading of Apollo Keryneia as Apollo Kenyristas does not look out of place because of the association of the ancient founder of the sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia and priest of the goddess Aphrodite with the god Apollo, thus making Kinyras a double hero.[816] The restoration is attractive because ancient literature often placed Kinyras alongside Apollo and could potentially support the idea that a hero cult of Kinyras existed at Paphos in the Roman period.[817] Fujii's interpretation of the document highlights the flaws of Cayla's hypothesis. This study is in agreement with Fujii's preference for assigning the role of the *koinon* in drafting the oath over that of the city of Paphos alone. With this in mind, the view that Cayla relied excessively 'on the fragile restoration of Kenyristes' in the oath of allegiance is consistent with the overall message and presentation of the oath. On the other hand, one cannot help being drawn to the idea of a cult of Kinyras in Roman Nea Paphos because of his significance to the religious landscape of the region. [818] Furthermore, the appearance of Aphrodite Akraia, Kore, Apollo Hylates, and the Dioskouroi, is another flaw in Cayla's notion that the oath was exclusively drafted by Paphos as these deities were not specific to Paphos and have been attested across the island. The other evidence which prompted Cayla to suggest that a hero cult of Kinyras existed in Paphos during the Roman period concerns the sanctuary of Opaon Melanthios, to which we will now turn.

[815] Cayla (2001); *I.Paphos*, 36-8; 75.
[816] *I.Paphos*, 299.
[817] Pindar, *Pythian*, 2.15 states that the men of Cyprus often echoed the name of Kinyras who was Aphrodite's priest and also loved by Apollo.
[818] *I.Paphos*, no. 151; Fujii (2013), 80-1, and footnote 65.

Opaon Melanthios.

Twelve kilometers north of the Sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia at Palaipaphos, a sanctuary to a god known as Opaon Melanthios was situated.[819] (Figure Eleven) Many interpretations for the meaning of the name Opaon Melanthios have been forward and it is thought that his identity was conflated with the worship of Apollo and Pan. [820] Although Pan does not feature in the epigraphy of Roman Cyprus, statuettes of the god Pan, and Opaon Melanthios, have been discovered across the island in rural locations.[821] [822] He was a deity who protected shepherds, huntsmen, and inhabitants of the countryside. The character of this deity was no doubt local. Roughly twenty inscriptions have been discovered at the sanctuary which attest the activity of the worship of the god.[823] According to Mitford, this cult may have outlived the Severans.[824] The appearance of two inscriptions set up by a *quaestor provinciae* at this rural sanctuary to the heirs of Augustus is significant and shows that the presence of the imperial cult.[825] Although Mitford could find no explanation for the interest of the Roman administration in the worship of Opaon Melanthios, Cayla's recent theory surrounding the character of this cult could perhaps shed light on these two monuments. First of all, it is likely that the sanctuary had some notoriety locally to prompt the dedication of

[819] Mitford (1990), 2183; *I.Paphos*, 72-4 for a recent study of this god.
[820] These inscriptions can be found in Masson (1994) and most recently in *I.Paphos*, 72-4, and nos. 312-36. Masson (1994), 275; *I.Paphos*, 72.
[821] For example, cf. a third century BC limestone sculpture of Pan or Opaon Melanthios discovered from a sanctuary in Golgoi, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art inv. no. 74.51.2735. Cf. Myres (1914), no. 1115.
[822] For the identity of Opaon Melanthios see Masson (1994), 273: for a connection with Poseidon Melanthios according to Lycophron v. 767; *I.Paphos*, 73: that the identity of Apollo Melanthios suggests that the divinity was chthonic in character, associated with vegetation, and also with Adonis.
[823] *I.Paphos*, 480- 95 and nos. 312-336 for the most recent study of all of the inscriptions from this sanctuary.
[824] Mitford (1990), 2183.
[825] [A] Hogarth, James et al. (1888), 260, no. 1; Mitford (1946), 38, n. 51, no. 1; Mitford (1961a), 108-9; *SEG* 20.241]. II. *ICA* 4 (in *RDAC* 1965), 119-20, no. 9; *SEG* 23.641. The two pieces assembled: Mitford (1990), 2183, footnote 32; *SEG* 40.1369; *AnnÉp* (1991), no. 1567; *SEG* 42.1315; Masson (1994), 270, no. 17; *SEG* 44.1286; *I.Paphos*, no. 313; Kantiréa (2008), 94, no. 24; Fujii (2013) Paphos (Amargetti) no. 1.
[B] Mitford (1961a), 107-9, no. 9; *SEG* 20.240; *BE* (1962), no. 326; Masson (1994), 270, no. 16; *I.Paphos*, no. 312; Kantiréa (2008), 94, no. 21; Fujii (2013) Paphos (Amargetti) no. 2.

two monuments to Augustus and his heirs in this setting.[826] For Cayla, another answer could also lie in the discovery of statuettes representing a masculine triad, connected with the sanctuary. He suggests that the three masculine figures could represent three male deities or mythological figures at the centre of Paphian legends, and puts forward that one grouping could be Apollo, Kinyras, and Adonis because of the divergence of different myths associated with the region and the interchangeable roles of the figures according to different version of the legends.[827] Furthermore, the dedication made to the heirs of Augustus, Gaius and Lucius Caesar, by Titus Apicatus Sabinus could symbolise their divinity, perhaps as double heroes in the context of the worship of the rural deity, Opaon Melanthios, whose very name 'Opaon' could indicate half of a double divinity, could evoke fertility and the resurrection of nature, no doubt an allusion to the perpetuation of the Julio Claudian dynasty.[828] It is significant that the monuments and offerings set up to this god at his sanctuary were done so by men only, which stands in great contrast to the inscriptions discovered at the sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia.[829]

The Roman Emperors and Zeus Kapetolios.

The worship of the Roman Emperor in Cyprus has been most recently explored by Fujii.[830] His thorough examination of the epigraphic evidence reveals that several key points that are significant for this study. Firstly, Roman Emperors were celebrated and worshipped as mortal men, the first citizen, and also as a god sometimes within their own lifetimes in Roman Cyprus. Study of the sculptures set up in the *poleis* of Cyprus also point to the

[826] Masson (1994), 270; *I.Paphos*, 72.
[827] *I.Paphos*, 71-2. This theory of triangulation is further supported by Cayla's consideration of the proximity of the Nea Paphos, Palaipaphos and the sanctuary at Amargetti in *I.Paphos*, 74.
[828] *I.Paphos*, 72-3.
[829] *I.Paphos*, 70.
[830] Essential previous study remains: Price (1980), (1984a), (1984b) and Fishwick (1990) and (1993).

integration of the Roman Emperor in the civic landscape.[831] Secondly, no structure has been discovered on the island that affirms that a temple was constructed solely for the worship of the Emperor, the sole exception being a sacred site that was rebuilt for Titus and Aphrodite which will be discussed later (it appears that he was worshipped as *theos synnaos* at the sanctuaries and temples of local deities).[832] Thirdly, Fujii's study highlighted that three types of Imperial priesthoods are attested in the epigraphic record. These corresponded to three levels of the imperial cult, that is provincial, civic, and individual the monopoly of which was enjoyed by some families because of the hereditary nature of some positions.[833] It is also evident that the families or individuals who dominated the religious scene and acted as priests in the worship of the Emperor must have been extremely wealthy. For example, it has been suggested that the *koinon* of Cyprus annually elected or nominated a person who could afford to meet the costs required to fully perform the functions required of the imperial cult on a provincial.[834]

It is clear from the concentration of evidence from the sanctuary and Nea Paphos that Paphos monopolised the scene.[835] The quantity of statue bases discovered at the sanctuary indicates that statues of the emperor and his family were set up, and that these would have mingled with other cult images and votive offerings.[836] As we have seen in chapter three, the organisation of the worship of the Emperor in Cyprus linked individual members of the local elite and their families to the imperial household and Rome as they would have held the

[831] Cf. Fujii (2013), chapter three.
[832] Fujii (2013), 60-1.
[833] Cf. Fujii (2013), 114, 116-22 and this study, chapter three, sections **3.3.1**. and **3.3.2**. For example the *Ummidii* of Paphos, and the families of Hyllos and Servius Sulpicius Pankles Veranianus of Salamis.
[834] Fujii (2013), 115 in response to Mitford (1990), 2196.
[835] *I.Paphos*, 80. Cf. Fujii's table of high priests of the worship of the Emperor, many of whom are from Paphos, and this study, chapter three, sections **3.3.1**. and **3.3.2**.
[836] Fujii (2013), 50.

coveted position of high priest and would have acted as envoys or ambassadors to Rome.[837] It is thought that their headquarters would have been based at Nea Paphos or Palaipaphos.

In some ways some aspects of the worship of the Roman Emperors, or members of the imperial household, reflect some of the practices observed during the Ptolemaic period. For instance, an inscription which reveals the worship of Livia as Aphrodite echoes the association of Ptolemaic Queens with local deities.[838]

The evidence for the worship of Roman emperors at Nea Paphos demonstrates the long lasting physical impact that the Emperor had on the religious landscape of the *polis*. The most interesting of these monuments from Nea Paphos are fragments of an architrave of greyish white Proconnesian marble, dated between AD 139-161, bring to light part of a dedication of the reconstructed theatre to Zeus Kapetolios and to the Antonine emperors by the city of Nea Paphos.[839]

[837] Cf. This study, chapter three, section **3.3.2**.

[838] Cf. Price (1980), 37-40 and Price (1984b), 86. Anastassiades (1998), 131: The worship of some deities were identified with individual Ptolemaic leaders, for instance Arsinoë encouraged the worship of Aphrodite and Adonis in Alexandria; 137-40: In Cyprus, Anastassiades has shown that Arsinoë was not identified with Aphrodite in the epigraphic record as she was in Egypt, but with a nymph known as Naias (the nymph of sweet water).

For the worship of Livia at Palaipaphos: [A] A statue to Livia as Aphrodite (?) by Paphos: Hogarth, James, et al. (1888), no.61; Mitford (1947), no.11; *SEG* 30.1632; *SEG* 54.1557; *I.Paphos*, no. 145; Fujii (2013) Paphos Vetus no. 3.

[B] Hogarth, James, et al. (1888), no. 14; Mitford (1947) 214-5, no. 5; *IGR* III 948; *SEG* 54.1557; *I.Paphos*, no. 152; Fujii (2013) Paphos Vetus no. 7.

An altar inscribed with the names of the Roman Emperors Titus, and later Domitian, has also been discovered at the sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia: *I.Paphos*, no. 154.

[839] For the theatre of Nea Paphos in general: Stennet and Green (2002); Sear (2006), 382, who suggested that the capacity of this theatre was around 7500 people.

Nea Paphos Inscription (Fujii (2013) Paphos Nova no. 3):[840]

[Θεῶι Διὶ Κ]α̣πετωλίωι · καὶ Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι · Τ(ίτωι) · Αἰλ[ίωι Ἁδριανῶι Ἀντωνίνωι Σεβαστῶι Εὐσεβεῖ] καὶ τῶι υἱῶι αὐτοῦ Μ · Αὐρ[ηλίωι Ἀντωνίνωι Καίσαρι] | [δι᾽ εὐεργεσ]ίας (?), Σεβ(αστὴ) · Κλ(αυδία) · Φλ(αουία) · Πάφος, ἡ ἱερὰ μητρόπολις τῶν κατὰ Κύπ[ρον πόλεων τὸ προσκήνιον, τὰ ἀγά]λματα καὶ τὰς ἀνόδους κατ[εσκεύασεν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων].

Stemma:

Lines 1–2: [Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Λ. Σεπτιμίωι Σευήρωι Εὐσεβεῖ Εὐτυχεῖ Περτίνακι Σεβαστῶι] καὶ τῶι υἱῶι αὐτοῦ Μ. Αὐρ[ηλίωι Ἀντωνίνωι Καίσαρι Σεβαστὴ Κλ. Φλ. Πάφος ἡ ἱερὰ μητρόπολις τῶν κατὰ Κύπρον πόλεων τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὰ ἀγά]λματα καὶ τᾶς ἀνόδους κα[τεσκεύασεν ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου] Mitford and Kantiréa; [Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Λ. Σεπτιμίωι Σευήρωι e.g. Εὐσεβεῖ Περτίνακι Σεβαστῶι Ἀραβικῶι Ἀδιαβηνικῶι] καὶ τῶι υἱῶι αὐτοῦ Μ. Αὐρ[ηλίωι ᾽Αντωνίνωι? Καίσαρι, …69… καὶ τὰ ἀγά]λματα καὶ τὰς ἀνόδους κα[ὶ …21?...]. *I.Paphos*.

Translation:

To [God Zeus] Kapitolios and Imperator Caesar T(itus) Ael[ius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius] and his son M(arcus) Aur[elius Antoninus Caesar] for the reason of their benefactions (?), Augusta Claudia Flavia Paphos, the sacred *metropolis* of the cities of Cyprus, provided the *proscenium*, the statues and the stairs up [at its own expense].

Quinn and Wilson's recent study on identifying Capitolia in the Roman Empire demonstrates that evidence for the worship of Zeus Capitolius, without Minerva and Juno, is not enough to argue for the establishment of the worship of the Capitoline triad in the provinces.[841] Given that this inscription points to the worship of Zeus only, it is unlikely that this monument was a Capitoline temple.

[840] Other references: Mitford (1961a), 105, footnote 49; *SEG* 20.252; *ab* Green and Stennett (2002), 186 and 188; *SEG* 52.1495 and 1496 for commentary on mason's marks on the reconstructed theatre; *AnnÉp* (2002) 1499; *ICA* 42 (in *RDAC* 2003), 305-8, no. 13; *SEG* 53.1758. Cf. Mitford (1980a), 1313, footnote 95; *I.Paphos*, no. 230; Kantiréa (2008), 104-5. Present Location: Ktima Museum, Cyprus, inv. no. 3987.
[841] Quinn and Wilson (2013).

The incorporation of the worship of the Emperor in the local calendar is also revealed in inscriptions from the Paphos region. As discussed above, a monument of Gaius Ummidius Durmius Quadratus discovered in Nea Paphos informs us of a festival for the Emperor known as the *Neroneia*.[842] He is commemorated for supplying oil and washing tubs at the games that would have been held at the festival.[843] Fujii's suggestion that the games would have been held at a gymnasion or at a civic level is useful as it enables us to consider the organisation of these games within the physical space of the city.[844] The meaning, or even the occasion, of the festival would have undoubtedly been adapted over time; nevertheless the monument of Gaius Ummidius Durmius Quadratus reveals the significance of the *Neroneia* in Nea Paphos at the time the inscription was set up. Another monument celebrates an individual who has been identified as belonging to an earlier generation of Gaius Ummidius Durmius Quadratus' family. Rhodokles, also known as Stasikrates, was celebrated by the *koinon* of Cyprus for acting as a voluntary *agonothetes* who supervised sacred contests on the island known as the *Kaisarogermanikeia*, another festival held to celebrate the imperial household.[845]

Palaipaphos Inscription (Fujii (2013) Paphos Vetus no. 9):[846]

Ἀφροδίτηι [v] Παφίαι·
Κυπρίων τὸ κοινὸν Ῥοδοκλέα Ῥοδοκλέους τὸν
καὶ Στασικράτην, ἀρχιερασάμενον νησιωτικῶς τοῦ θεοῦ
Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος, τὸν αὐθαίρετον ἀγωνοθέτην τῶν
ἀχθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ Κυπρίων πρώτως ἐν Σεβαστῆι 5
Πάφωι νησιωτικῶν ἱερῶν ἀγώνων πενταετηρικῶν *vacat*
Καισαρογερμανικείων, ἀρετῆς χάριν.

[842] Cf. Fujii (2013), 129 and this study, chapter three, section **3.3.1**. **Nea Paphos Inscription** (Fujii (2013) Paphos Nova no. 1).
[843] Cf. Fujii (2013) Kition no 6. For evidence of other *Neroneia* in the Roman Empire see Suetonius, *Nero*, 12; Tacitus, *Annales*, 14.20; 16.2; 16. 4; Cassius Dio, 62.21. Cf. Price (1984a), 104, footnote 20.
[844] Fujii (2013), 129.
[845] Fujii (2013), 128-9.
[846] Other references: *SEG* 23.638; *AnnÉp* (1966) 487; *ICA* 3 (in *RDAC* 1964), 211–6, no. 23(b); *I.Paphos*, no. 169. Cf. *BE* (1966), 439-40 no. 483. Present Location: Kouklia Museum, Cyprus, inv. no. 126.

Translation:

To Aphrodite Paphia
The *Koinon* of Cyprus (honours) Rhodokles son of Rhodokles also
known as Stasikrates, having held the office of high priest of the
Divine Augustus Caesar for the whole island, the self-selected *agonothete* of the sacred games, the quinquennial contests (of the island), the *Kaisarogermanikeia*, put on by the *Koinon* of Cyprus for the first time in Sebaste Paphos, in recognition of his virtue.

It seems that these games were held every five years for Caesar Germanicus and that they were organised for the first time at Nea Paphos Sebaste.[847] The question of whether the games were always associated with the worship of Caesar Germanicus is uncertain. Fujii suggests that the games could have been already in existence and then later re-named.[848]

Theos Hypsistos.

The worship of Theos Hypsistos is attested both at Nea Paphos and at the Sanctuary of Paphian Aphrodite.[849] Various studies have shown that although Hypsistos was used by Jews to denote Yahweh in literature or Sabaoth (Lord of Hosts),[850] the name of the god was also adopted and used by non-Jews to refer to Zeus, the highest god of the pantheon.[851] Paul Trebilco's study of the use of this epithet by pagans and Jews in Asia Minor also reveals that the name could be used by an individual to denote the god whom he personally viewed as the 'highest' or most important.[852] In short, this study, along with others, has shown that the use and appearance of Hypsistos across the Roman Empire does not explicitly signal the practice or influence of Judaism in a location. The name of this god should be seen as deliberately

[847] Fujii (2013), 128: dated either on account of his governorship in the East in AD 18/19, or after his death in Syria on Oct AD 19. Tacitus, *Annales*, 2.83 on posthumous games.
[848] Fujii (2013), 128-9.
[849] From the sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia: *I.Paphos*, no. 184. This inscription is funerary. From Nea Paphos: *I.Paphos*, no. 255. For key studies of the identity of Theos Hypsistos and his worship cf. Masson and Aupert (1979); Trebilco (1991); Mitchell (1999); Mitchell and van Nuffelen eds. (2010).
[850] Trebilco (1991), 129-131. Green (1990) 501.
[851] Zeus sometimes attested as Zeus Hypsistos.
[852] Trebilco (1991), particularly chapter six, and 127, 142.

ambiguous and as evidence for the trend towards monotheism in the Roman Empire, particularly in the second and third centuries AD.[853] The existence of Hypsistos, or sometimes Theos Hypsistos, across the Roman Empire is attested from the Hellenistic period to the fifth century AD.[854] Furthermore, evidence for the worship of Theos Hypsistos, or Hypsistos, is not confined to *poleis*, and monuments bearing the name are known from the *chora*.[855] Furthermore, many of the inscriptions invoking Theos Hypsistos were from peasants for good harvests and also from those suffering illnesses.[856] The longevity and spread of this deity is remarkable and shows that the appeal of his worship was widespread.[857] The evidence for the worship of Theos Hypsistos was not exclusive to Nea and Palaipaphos in Roman Cyprus; inscriptions dedicated to the god have been discovered at Kourion, Limassol, Amathous, Polemidhia, Kition, and Golgoi, revealing that the worship of this deity was extremely popular in Cyprus, particularly in the Roman period.[858]

Christianity.

Although the *Acts of the Apostles*, 13.7 documents Paul and St Barnabas' travels through Cyprus to preach Christianity and the famous account of Sergius Paullus' conversion to Christianity, very few inscriptions attest the worship of Christianity and these are dated from the fourth century AD.[859]

[853] Trebilco (1991), 128-9; Mitchell (1999), 92.
[854] Mitchell (1999), 125.
[855] Mitchell (1999), 125.
[856] Mitchell (1999), 106, particularly at Golgoi.
[857] Mitchell (1999), 105-6, 126.
[858] Mitchell (1999), 85, 101. The cult was also popular in Phrygia, Lydia, and Crete. cf. appendix pages 144-5 nos. 243-265 (22 inscriptions from Cyprus for Theos Hypsistos). Cf. Aupert and Masson (1979), 380.
[859] For example, *I.Paphos*, nos. 345, 346, 347.

Tyche.

Similar to the worship of Demeter, a Tychaeum of the Roman Period is also attested in an inscription discovered at the Sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia.[860]

Palaipaphos Inscription (*I.Paphos*, no. 182):[861]

Ἀφ[ροδίτ]ῃ Παφίᾳ.
κοινὸν Κυπρίων
Ἀπολλωνίαν Κρατεροῦ καὶ τὸν ταύτης ἄνδρα
Πατροκλέα Πατροκλέους, τοὺς κτίστας τοῦ
Τυχαίου καὶ ἀρχιερεῖς διὰ βίου τῆς Τύχης 5.
τῆς μητροπόλεως Πάφου, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἰς τὴν
ἐπαρχείαν φιλοτειμίας καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὴν
πατρίδα εὐνοίας χάριν.

Translation:

To Aphrodite Paphia
The *Koinon* of Cyprus (honours)
Apollonia daughter of Krater and her husband
Patrokles son of Patrokles, the founders of
a *Tychaeum* and high priests for life of Tyche
of the *metropolis* of Paphos, on account of their zeal
towards the province and goodwill towards their *patria*.

The monument dates to the end of the mid second century AD and was set up by the *Koinon* of Cyprus in honour of the founders of the Tychaeum, but again, the location of this sacred site is unknown. A date of the early third century AD, based on the engraving of the monument, has also been suggested.[862] Both monuments were discovered at the sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia; it could be assumed that similar inscriptions commemorating the actions of the high priestess and founders were set up at the temples and shrines of Demeter and Tyche too. The commemoration of Apollonia and Patrokles by the *koinon* is suggestive of a cult

[860] Mitford (1990), 2182.
[861] Hogarth, James, et al. (1888), 237, no. 40; *IGR* III 962; *OGIS* II 585; *ICA* 10 (in *RDAC* 1971), 30, no. 38. Present Location: Kouklia Museum, Cyprus, without inv. number.
[862] *I.Paphos*, 345-6.

centre being located in the Paphos region, although it must be noted that a Tychaeum is not attested anywhere else in Roman Cyprus.[863] The way in which the benefaction of the founders is articulated in this monument is remarkable and unparalleled in the epigraphy of Roman Cyprus. Apollonia and Patrokles are honoured for their 'zeal towards their province' and also to their 'patria'.[864]

4.2.4. Conclusions.

The traditional picture of Nea Paphos as a *polis* which was enthusiastic and receptive to Roman rule remains. This should not be taken at face value though. A closer look at the evidence which displays local enthusiasm for Roman customs and ideologies reveals that while the city adopted Roman symbols and ideas, local traditions and customs specific to the city, and indeed the region, were not eradicated. This is particularly evident with the incorporation of the new calendar and the oath of allegiance to Tiberius, both of which were locally inspired. It could be argued that the introduction of the Romano-Cypriot calender and the spontaneous oath of allegiance to Tiberius were strategic on the part of the local community who initiated their creation. Both the calendar and the oath serve to flatter Rome but also emphasise the significance of Nea Paphos and Palaipaphos to Imperial ideology, particularly the claim of descent from Aphrodite, the mother of the Trojan hero Aeneas. Aphrodite Paphia was the goddess *par excellence* of Cyprus and both the document of the oath and the creation of the Romano-Cypriot calendar was the perfect platform to advertise, and further emphasise, the significance of the *polis* to insiders and outsiders alike.

Evidence for the mythical and religious landscape of Roman Nea Paphos and Palaipaphos illuminate other ways in which the identity of the *polis* was made up of local and

[863] *I.Paphos*, 346.
[864] *I.Paphos*, 346.

external symbols. Aphrodite Paphia can be considered as authentically ancient and Cypriot and her sanctuary at Palaipaphos was without rival as the chief cult-centre of the island throughout the Roman period.[865] While the worship of Aphrodite is attested across the island, for instance at Soloi, where she was worshipped alongside Isis and Serapis until the fourth century AD,[866] and as we will see, at Amathous where she was celebrated as Aphrodite Cypria in some inscriptions,[867] the identity of Aphrodite Paphia was very particular to the Paphos region.[868] The identification of three founders of the *polis* and the sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia by ancient authors in general is testament to the flexibility of the mythology of the *polis* and the uses that it could be put to. Out of the three founders attested, King Aerias, Kinyras, and Agapenor, it is the mythology of Kinyras and his descendents which truly shaped the religious landscape of both Nea and Palaipaphos throughout antiquity. In the Roman period, this was recognised and maintained by both insiders and outsiders, in the material and literary records respectively.

Several components of the local religions detected in the Paphos region in the Roman period, related to the mythology of Kinyras, are worth mentioning. Firstly, Cayla's recent theories regarding the worship of Kinyras as a hero in the region, along with the possible identification of several male deities associated with the mythology of Kinyras and his descendents in the vicinity of the sanctuary of Opaon Melanthios further emphasises the importance of the foundation myth of Kinyras to local religious practices in the Roman period. Although these ideas are bold and dependent on fragile evidence, they should not be entirely dismissed. Secondly, the appearance of the priestly title of *kinyrarch* in a monument

[865] *I.Paphos*, 71.
[866] Cf. Karageorghis (2005), 69-71. Cf. Westholm (1936) on the sanctuaries of Soloi for comparison and Anastassiades (2003) for a general study of the 'fusion and diffusion' of the worship of Isis in Ptolemaic and Roman Cyprus.
[867] For an overview of the worship of the goddess across the island cf. Karageorghis (2005).
[868] Mitford (1990), 2179.

from the sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia also confirms local acknowledgement and celebration of Kinyras and his descendents. Finally, the instances in which Christian authors emphasised the relationship of Kinyras to Aphrodite demonstrates the way in which myths were maintained and used by outsiders to achieve a particular end, in this instance to rail against the wickedness of pagan religion. Whether the figure of Kinyras was written about by outsiders in the literary record or revealed by insiders through the material record, it is evident that his mythology was integral to the identity of Nea Paphos in the Roman period.

A slight shift in local religious worship can be detected from the Hellenistic period in the epigraphic record. Little evidence points to the maintenance of Egyptian cults but is suggestive of the continuation of worship of other deities established prior to Roman rule, for instance, the chief deity Aphrodite Paphia and also the rural god Opaon Melanthios amongst others. Whether other material remains, such as statuettes, provides an alternative picture to the evidence yielded from inscriptions remains to be seen. The incorporation of the Roman Emperor and his household into the religious and civic landscape of Nea Paphos is striking. The monopoly of the Paphian local elite in the organisation of the worship of the Emperor points to the way in which the attainment of priesthoods of the Emperor were one of many ways in which local families could assert their status and compete with one another. Chapter three has shown that competition between the local elites of Cyprus involved the advertisement of Roman and local priesthoods and symbols.

Overall, study of the myths associated with Nea and Palaipaphos and the religions practiced in the Paphos region as a whole has confirmed their importance to the identity of the *polis* in the Roman period. The identity of Nea Paphos in the Roman period was bound up with that of the sanctuary at Palaipaphos which was celebrated for its antiquity and its status as the chief temple of Aphrodite. Studies have shown that the hereditary nature of rituals and

local religions were artificially revived by the Kings of Cyprus in order to promote the status of their city-states individually across the island and in the wider region.[869] Therefore, the celebration of Roman ideology, in the case of Paphos the association of Aphrodite Paphia as the divine ancestress of the Emperor Augustus, can be considered in this light. The adoption and celebration of some Roman symbols was driven by local initiative was a strategy which served to further emphasise the supremacy of Paphos on the island.

[869] *I.Paphos*, 38, 71.

4.3. Kourion.

(Figures Three and Twelve)

4.3.1. Previous study and characterisation of Kourion.

The ancient remains of Kourion are extensive and show that the culture and society of the city flourished under Rome.[870] The city proper, located on the *acropolis* of Kourion, consisted of an *agora*, a *nymphaeum*, a theatre, and a public bathing complex.[871] (Figures Thirteen and Fourteen). Other structures survive adorned with mosaics. These are known as the House of the Gladiators, so named because of a mosaic uncovered which depicts gladiators, dated to the third century AD,[872] the House of Achilles, dated to the third to fourth- centuries AD,[873] and the House of Eustolios, dated to the late fourth to fifth centuries AD.[874] The mosaic uncovered at the House of Achilles depicts the unmasking of Achilles, disguised as a woman, in front of Odysseus at Skyros. Within this same structure survives a fragmentary mosaic of the rape of Ganymede by the eagle of Zeus.[875] It is thought that this building was a structure in which officials or distinguished guests were received.[876] The mosaics of the House of Eustolios reveal a change in the culture and society of Roman Kourion. In general, the house is decorated with mosaics comprised of symbols associated with the worship of Christianity, such as birds, crosses, and the icthus.[877] Only one

[870] For an overview of the city: Mitford (1980a), 1315-7; Watkin (1988), 273-87; Mitford (1990), 2183-5; Kantiréa (2010).
Epigraphic surveys: *I.Kourion*; Bagnall and Drew Bear (1973a and b); Drew-Bear (1974).
Studies on specific structures: Stillwell (1961); Scranton (1967); Soren (1986); Soren ed. (1987); Soren and James (1988); Sinos (1990);
[871] For the theatre of Kourion see Sear (2006), 381 for the theatre of Kourion, capacity 2600-3200.
[872] Karageorghis (1968b), 346-9, figures 134-5; Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1973b), 242.
[873] Cf. *I.Kourion*, no. 207; Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1973b), 241-2.
[874] *I.Kourion*, nos. 201-205; Cf. Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1973b), 237-41.
[875] *I.Kourion*, no. 208.
[876] *I.Kourion*, 361.
[877] *I.Kourion*, 354 surprisingly states that the 'absence of Christian symbolism is, however, conspicuous in these mosaics'.

inscription, which formed part of a mosaic confirms the declaration of the Christian faith.[878] (Figure Fifteen) Furthermore, the mosaic identifies the figure of Eustolios and his benefaction to his native city;[879] Eustolios returned to his home city in the late fourth century to early fifth century AD to find the city impoverished. He then provided the city with the complex that had facilities for bathing, was decorated with mosaics, and was possibly used for Christian worship. The remains of the Christian basilica located near to the *agora* also reflect the transformation of Cyprus as a centre for the worship of Christianity in the early fifth century AD.[880] Located on the outskirts of Kourion are the remains of a stadium - thought to have been constructed in the third century AD. The sanctuary of Kourion's chief deity, Apollo Hylates, is surrounded by woodlands and is close to the city proper. (Figure Sixteen) Inscriptions reveal that both the city and the sanctuary were extensively rebuilt during the Roman period, particularly under Trajan.

To date, Kourion has been understood as a city which enjoyed an 'opulent Mycenaean culture' but, according to Mitford, despite the worship of the Roman Emperor and a brief epidemic of AD 113 the city 'made no palpable impact on the Roman world of its day'.[881]

4.3.2. Settlement and foundation myth of the *polis*.

The foundation of Kourion is recorded in a variety of sources, dating from the fifth century BC to the sixth century AD. In his description of Cyprus' landscape, Strabo provided a brief overview of the island's promontories, harbours, small towns, and was selective with the cities he wrote about. Strabo's treatment of the cities of Cyprus is inconsistent and lacking

[878] *I.Kourion*, no. 202; Cf. Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1973b), 238, 242-3.
[879] *I.Kourion*, no. 204; Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1973b), 239-41.
[880] *I.Kourion*, 351.
[881] Mitford (1980a), 1316.

in detail. The length at which he describes the foundation myth of Kourion is atypical of this section of his *Geographica* and it is unclear as to why this city receives so much attention:[882]

εἶτα πόλις Κούριον ὅρμον ἔχουσα, Ἀργείων κτίσμα. ἤδη οὖν πάρεστι σκοπεῖν τὴν ῥᾳθυμίαν τοῦ ποιήσαντος τὸ ἐλεγεῖον τοῦτο οὗ ἡ ἀρχή " ἱραὶ τῷ Φοίβῳ, πολλὸν διὰ κῦμα θέουσαι, ἤλθομεν αἱ ταχιναὶ τόξα φυγεῖν ἔλαφοι, " εἴθ᾽ Ἡδύλος ἐστὶν εἴθ᾽ ὁστισοῦν: φησὶ μὲν γὰρ ὁρμηθῆναι τὰς ἐλάφους Κωρυκίης ἀπὸ δειράδος, ἐκ δὲ Κιλίσσης ἠόνος εἰς ἀκτὰς διανήξασθαι Κουριάδας, καὶ ἐπιφθέγγεται διότι " μυρίον ἀνδράσι θαῦμα νοεῖν πάρα, πῶς ἀνόδευτον χεῦμα δί᾽ εἰαρινῷ ἐδράμομεν ζεφύρῳ " ἀπὸ γὰρ Κωρύκου περίπλους μέν ἐστιν εἰς Κουριάδα ἀκτήν, οὐ ζεφύρῳ δὲ οὔτε ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντι τὴν νῆσον οὔτ᾽ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, δίαρμα δ᾽ οὐδέν. ἀρχὴ δ᾽ οὖν τοῦ δυσμικοῦ παράπλου τὸ Κούριον τοῦ βλέποντος πρὸς Ῥόδον, καὶ εὐθύς ἐστιν ἄκρα ἀφ᾽ ἧς ῥίπτουσι τοὺς ἁψαμένους τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος.

Strabo echoed Herodotus by stating that Kourion was a foundation, or colony, of the Argives.[883] Herodotus seemed to provide the earliest literary source which connects the city of Kourion to the Argives. The sixth century AD author Stephanus Byzantius directly quoted Herodotus as his source for his account of Kourion's foundation, therefore, it is likely that this anecdote was known by Strabo too.[884] For Lavelle, Herodotus' inclusion of this detail about the foundation of Kourion is evidence of Herodotus deliberately highlighting the separateness of Kourion from the rest of the island.[885] The appearance of Kourion on a

[882] Strabo, *Geographica*, 14.6.3. c. 683.

[883] Strabo, *Geographica*, 14.6.3. c. 683. Translation: Then to the city Kourion (which) has an anchorage, a foundation of the Argives. By this time in fact there is to see the ease of the poet who wrote the elegiac that begins, 'We deer, sacred to Phoebus, rushing over many billows, arrived here in swiftness to flee the arrows of hunters'. Either Hedylus s (the author) or someone else: For he says the deer were hastened on from the Corycian range from the shore of Cilicia to the promontory of Kourion to access it, and for that reason says that, 'to men (it is) infinite wonder how we ran across the impassable stream aided by the spring westerly wind'. For there is a sailing route from Corycus to the anchorage of Kurias, neither (made) by the westerly wind and not by keeping the island on the right nor on the left, (there is) no passage by sea. Certainly Kourion is the beginning of the western sea route in sight of Rhodes, and at once there is a promontory from which are hurled those who touch the altar of Apollo.
Cf. Herodotus, *Historiae*, 5.113.1.

[884] Stephanus Byzantius, s.v:
Κούριον, πόλις Κύπρου, ἀπὸ Κουρέως τοῦ Κινύρου παιδός. Ἡρόδοτος πέμπτῃ.

[885] Cf. Lavelle (1984).

second century BC list discovered at Argos is worth noting here before discussion of evidence from the Roman period.[886] This list records the financial donations which nine Cypriot *poleis* made to Argos; it reveals that after Salamis and Kition, Kourion gave the most money.[887] This is surprising because it has been noted that Kourion was of no political importance in the Hellenistic period, and yet donated more money than Paphos, which would have been established as the capital of the island at this time.[888] It is possible that, at this time, Kourion chose to make such a large contribution to emphasise its particular connection to Argos.[889] Strabo's account emphasises that Roman Kourion continued to celebrate wider themes concerning mainland Greece, mostly through its local religious practices which could be perceived as connected to its foundation. The inclusion of an elegiac poem, supposedly composed by Hedylus, further highlights Kourion's connection with the god Apollo, thus emphasising a link between the worship of Apollo in Cyprus with the centre of worship for Apollo at Delphi. The passage also evokes the landscape of the Corycian hills near Delphi to where pilgrims travelled to receive the famous oracle of Apollo. Elsewhere in his *Geographica*, Strabo stated that the whole of Parnassos was sacred to Apollo and that sacred caves, along with other natural features of the landscape, were deemed holy. The best known and most beautiful was Corycian, cave of nymphs.[890] This passage demonstrates the way in which the foundation myth of Kourion was maintained by outsiders and how the identity of the city was integral to the identity of the *polis*.

[886] Cf. Aupert (1982b); Watkin (1988), 190-3.
[887] Salamis and Kition both donated 208 drachmas and 2 obols; Kourion donated 191 drachmas and 4 obols.
[888] Cf. Aupert (1982b), 272-3, and footnote 23; Watkin (1988), 192: Paphos contributed 100 drachmas.
[889] Cf. Aupert (1982b), 272-3, and footnote 23; Watkin (1988), 192.
[890] Strabo, *Geographica*, 9.3.1. Cf. also Pausanias, 10.32.2-7 who wrote that the cave of the Corycian nymphs was sacred to Pan.

4.3.3. Local religious practice and organisation.

4.3.3.1. The Hellenistic period.

Inscriptions discovered at the sanctuary of Apollo Hylates signal the worship of a variety of deities at Kourion during the Hellenistic period.[891] These include: Apollo as Apollo simpliciter(?),[892] Apollo Pythios(?) along with Hera Argeias(?),[893] Apollo Hylates,[894] Demeter and Kore;[895] Perseus, Perseutas;[896] Hestia.[897] An altar and an *oinochoe* naming Arsinoë Philadelphus, discovered at Kourion, indicates the private worship of the Ptolemies.[898] The underworld god Hades is also cited in a Hellenistic inscription, though this does not necessarily point to the establishment of his worship at Kourion.[899] Mitford suggested that the worship of Demeter and Kore, and Perseus was stifled by the worship of Apollo Hylates and did not survive into the Roman period.[900] This has been proven as incorrect by the existence of several inscriptions which reveal the importance of the hero Perseus in the Roman period.

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[891] Inscriptions attest the appearance of Apollo as far back as the Archaic and Classical periods: [A] *I.Kourion*, no. 18; Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1973b), 213-4; *I.Kourion*, no. 23?, *I.Kourion*, no. 24?

[892] [A] *I.Kourion*, no. 30a?; [B] *I.Kourion*, no. 34?**;** Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1973b), 214-5; [C] *I.Kourion*, no. 40; [D] *I.Kourion*, no. 52; [E] *I.Kourion*, no. 57; [F] *I.Kourion*, no. 58; [G] *I.Kourion*, no. 59; [H] *I.Kourion*, no. 74.

[893] *I.Kourion*, no. 41; Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1973b), 215-6. It must be noted that the name of Hera is completely restored in line two of the inscription.

[894] [A] *I.Kourion*, no. 34; Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1973b), 214-5; [B] *I.Kourion*, no. 41; Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1973b), 215-6; [C] *I.Kourion*, no. 49; Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1973b), 216; [D] *I.Kourion*, no. 50; Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1973b), 216-7; [E] *I.Kourion*, no. 60; [E] *I.Kourion*, no. 61; [F] *I.Kourion*, no. (62); [G] *I.Kourion*, no. (64); [H] *I.Kourion*, no. 72.

[895] *I.Kourion*, no. 26 Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1973b), 214; Mitford (1990), 2184: dated to the late fourth century BC.

[896] Pre-Roman in date: *I.Kourion*, nos. 25, 65, 66; from the Roman period: *I.Kourion*, nos. 89, 104. Cf. This chapter, section **4.3.3.2**. **Kourion Inscription** (*I.Kourion*, no. 89).

[897] *I.Kourion*, no. 34.

[898] *I.Kourion*, nos. 56 and 75; Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1973b), 217-8.

[899] *I.Kourion*, no. 68.

[900] Mitford (1990), 2184, footnote 35; Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1973b), 219: their commentary on *I.Kourion*, nos. 65 and 66 call into question the Hellenistic dating of these monuments and also whether the sanctuary would have stifled the worship of these deities. That Kourion continued to style itself as a city of Perseus in *I.Kourion*, nos. 89 and 104 in the Roman period is significant.

4.3.3.2. The Roman period.

The chief deity: Apollo Hylates and his sanctuary.

The chief deity of Kourion was Apollo Hylates (Apollo of the woodlands), and his sanctuary was famed throughout the island.[901] While the epithet Hylates is not attested outside of Cyprus, Strabo's anecdote relating the journey of the sacred deer of Apollo from the Corycian hills to Kourion hints at an etymological explanation for the epithet of the god in this region and also connects his presence in Cyprus to his cult centre at Delphi.[902] Strabo also wrote of a peculiarity of the cult when described people being thrown from the cliff for touching the altar of Apollo.[903] The second to third century AD author Aelian also described the sanctuary as being surrounded by woodland.[904] Accounts of the sanctuary and the foundation of the city, written in the Roman period, subtly link Apollo Hylates and the origins of his worship in Cyprus to his worship in Delphi. This is significant as it highlights that the foundation myth of the city was relevant to the identity of the sanctuary and the worship of Apollo Hylates in the Roman period.

Despite the high profile of the sanctuary it did not receive the right to asylum that was awarded to the sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia at Palaipaphos, Aphrodite at Amathous, and Olympian Zeus at Salamis in AD 22.[905] The sanctuary at Kourion might have seemed a likely candidate for this privilege because of its widespread fame, connectivity with the sanctuaries at Paphos and Amathous and also because it is emphatically described as 'our Apollo Hylates' (as belonging to the whole of Cyprus) in the AD 14 oath of allegiance to Tiberius.[906] Along with the worship of Paphian Aphrodite and Zeus Olympios of Salamis, Mitford suggested

[901] Mitford (1990), 2183.Cf. This study, chapter four, section **4.2.3.2. Palaipaphos Inscription** (Mitford (1960), 75-9): the oath of allegiance to Tiberius in whic Apollo Hylates is named.
[902] Strabo, *Geographica*, 14.6.3. c. 683.
[903] Strabo, *Geographica*, 14.6.3. c. 683.
[904] Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*, 11.7.
[905] Tacitus, *Annales*, 3.62.4.
[906] Mitford (1990), 2183.

that there is no evidence that the worship of Apollo Hyle survived after the reign of Caracalla.[907] The sanctuary is thought to have been in decline by the fourth century AD.[908] Archaeological remains at the end of the fourth century AD suggest that the sanctuary had at this point been abandoned.[909] Mitford connected this decline with the widespread adulation of the Severans and the attraction of much more immediate gods or private forms of worship.[910]

The sanctuary of Apollo Hylates is situated roughly thirty-five miles east from Nea Paphos and near the *acropolis* of Kourion and is linked to the Sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia by a monumental gate positioned at the north of the sanctuary.[911] A monumental road ran through the sanctuary which led onto the city of Amathous and its sanctuary of Aphrodite of Amathous to the east.[912] Remains from the sanctuary reveal structures from all periods of its history and provide evidence that it was equipped with baths, 'dormitories', and a 'palaistra' amongst many other unidentified buildings.[913] The sanctuary, along with the city of Kourion, underwent intense building activities in the Roman imperial period.[914] This is in line with the reality that the island was devastated by earthquakes in the third and fourth centuries AD which resulted in the abandonment of many sites or structures across the island.

[907] Mitford (1980a), 1372.
[908] Mitford (1990), 2185.
[909] Mitford (1990), 2185.
[910] Mitford (1980a), 1372.
[911] Scranton (1967), 3. For a recent overview of the history of the sanctuary see Kantiréa (2010).
[912] Scranton (1967), 25-6; 45-7.
[913] Scranton (1967).
[914] Scranton (1967), 30-8; Mitford (1980a), 1317; Watkin (1988), 277.

The Roman temple of Apollo Hylates. (Figure Seventeen)

The date for the first major temple built to Apollo Hylates on site has been debated.[915] It is certain though, that under Rome, in the first century AD, the Greek temple to Apollo Hylates was re-constructed.[916] Only two other temples built in a similar style are known to have existed in Roman Cyprus and they were to Aphrodite of Amathous and Zeus Olympios of Salamis. The styles of these three structure and date of their building has prompted some to consider that they their construction was related. It has been suggested that the temples of Apollo Hylates and Aphrodite of Amathous were possibly designed by the same team of architects.[917] It has been suggested that the Roman rebuilding of the temple at Kourion indicates that the 'artistic orientation' of sanctuary was influenced by styles associated with Egypt and Alexandria.[918] For instance, the incorporation of Nabataean capitals, which can be seen today on the reconstructed temple, indicates this.[919] This feature was also associated with Syrian architecture and it has also been suggested that the temple was deliberately archaised when it was reconstructed in the first century AD.[920] The discovery coin hoards at Roman Kourion, which attest the far reaching connections of the city, in particular with Syria, also complements the way in which the architecture of the temple reflects the cosmopolitan character of the city.[921] (Figures Eighteen, Nineteen, Twenty, and Twenty-One).

[915] Sinos (1990), 22, 135, 138 provides a summary of the various dates suggested. According to Sinos (1990), 22 the first large scale temple was built at the end of the fourth to the beginning of the third century BC. Cf. also Scranton (1967); Soren (1987b); and Soren (1987c) for studies on the architecture of the temple.
[916] Sinos (1990), 23.
[917] Hermary (1994), 328-9.
[918] Sinos (1990), 235-6.
[919] Sinos (1990), 235.
[920] Soren (1987b), 47; Soren (1987c), 206-16.
[921] Soren (1987b), 47.

Apollo Hylates and Apollo Caesar.

An interesting development concerning the worship of the emperor at Kourion occurs during the early second century AD. As mentioned above, many inscriptions from the Roman period attest these building activities, however it was under Trajan that the sanctuary was enhanced dramatically and, according to Mitford, the city of Kourion had the 'wit' or 'luck' in AD 101 to associate Trajan with Apollo Caesar and worship him alongside their own Apollo Hylates.[922] A monument dated to AD 101 which commemorated the completion of two exedrae to the gods Apollo Hylates and Apollo Caesar under the supervision of the proconsul prompted this suggestion by Mitford.

Kourion Inscription (*I.Kourion*, no. 108):[923]

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ Νερούα υἱός, Νέρουας Τραϊανὸς
Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς (leaf)
ἐξουσίας τὸ δ′, ὕπατος τὸ δ′, πατὴρ · πατρίδος, τὰς λειπούσας
ἐξέδρας δύο Ἀπόλλωνι Καίσαρι καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι Ὑλάτη(ι) ἔκτισεν· (leaf)
Κοίντος Λαβέριος Λουκίου υἱὸς Αἰμιλία Ἰοῦστος Κοκκεῖος Λέπιδος 5.
ἀνθύπατος τῆς κατασκευῆς ἐπεμελήθη καὶ καθιέρωσεν.
L δ′

Translation:

Imperator Caesar son of the Deified Nerva, Nerva Trajan
Augustus Germanicus, *pontifex maximus*, holder of tribunician
power for the fourth time, consul for the fourth time, *pater patriae*, founded the two
incomplete *exedrae* to Apollo Caesar and Apollo Hylat<es>.
Q(uintus) Laberius son of L(ucius), of the voting-tribe *Aemilia*, Iustus Cocceius
Lepidus, proconsul, was responsible for the construction and dedicated them.
In the fourth year.

[922]Mitford (1990), 2184, and footnote 39; Fujii (2013), 97 notes the inscriptions from Kourion which recording building projects, these include:
[A] **This study, chapter four, section** 4.3.3.2**. Kourion Inscription** (*I.Kourion*, no. 108); [B] *I.Kourion*, no. 111; Fujii (2013) Kourion no. 11; Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1974), 190-5; Cf. *BE* (1976), 744. The fragmentary inscriptions of: [A] *I.Kourion*, no. 106; [B] *I.Kourion*, no. 107; [C] *I.Kourion*, no. 109; [D] *I.Kourion*, no. 110 could attest further imperial building activities at the sanctuary. Mitchell (1987), 356 also pointed out that all of the building activities of Trajan in Kourion concern supplementary construction to existing buildings and unfinished works.
[923] Other references: Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1973b), 231-2; Fujii (2013) Kourion no. 5. Present Location: Episkopi Museum, Cyprus, inv. no. I 152.

According to Mitford, the worship of Apollo Hylates and Apollo Caesar began during the reign of Trajan and the deity Apollo Caesar represented the veiled worship of this Roman Emperor.[924] Recently, it has been highlighted that because the inscription describes the *exedrae* as already dedicated to Apollo Hylates and Apollo Caesar and completed only, thus implying that the introduction of the worship of Apollo Caesar antedated, or at latest coincided with, this first datable building dedicated by Trajan.[925]

Apollo Caesar and Apollo Hylates appear on eight monuments, with possibly two more.[926] Contra Mitford, Fujii demonstrates that inscriptions naming Apollo Caesar should not be taken as evidence for the Cypriots worshipping Trajan as *theos synnaos*, a mortal who inhabited a temple of another deity, nor should Apollo Caesar be interpreted as enjoying the same status of the city's chief deity, Apollo Hylates.[927] The name of Apollo Hylates mostly appears before, or in some cases above, that of Apollo Caesar.[928] Furthermore, the title of Caesar could be representative of a number of different deities, amalgamated with Apollo, to create a new deity specific to Kourion.

How and where the god was worshipped is also ambiguous.[929] Inscriptions and votive offerings from the Roman Period reveal dedications to Apollo Hylates and Apollo Caesar

[924] Mitford (1990), 2184-5, 2196; Fujii (2013), 62-3.
[925] Fujii (2013), 62-4. Cf. Kantiréa (2008), 101.
[926] [A] *I.Kourion*, no. 120; Fujii (2013) Kourion no. 4; [B] *I.Kourion*, no. 108; Fujii (2013) Kourion no. 5; [C] *I.Kourion*, no. 144; Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1973b), 235; Fujii (2013) Kourion no. 6 ; [D] *I.Kourion*, no. 121; Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1973b), 232-3; Fujii (2013) Kourion no. 7 (Apollo Caesar alone); [E] *I.Kourion*, no. 122; Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1973b), 233; Fujii (2013) Kourion no. 8; [F] *I.Kourion*, no. 123; Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1973b), 233-4; Fujii (2013) Kourion no. 9; [G] *I.Kourion*, no. 124; Fujii (2013) Kourion no. 10; [H] Fujii (2013) Kourion no. 11; *I.Kourion*, no. 111; Bagnall and Drew-Bear 1974, 190–5; *BE* (1976), no. 744. [I] *I.Kourion*, nos. 109 and 110 are restored by Mitford as monuments naming Apollo Caesar and Apollo Hylates but they are extremely fragmentary.
[927] Fujii (2013), 64-5.
[928] Except for [A] *I.Kourion*, no. 108; Fujii (2013) Kourion no. 5; [B] *I.Kourion*, no. 121; Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1973b), 232-3; Fujii (2013) Kourion no. 7 (Apollo Caesar alone).
[929] Cf. Scranton (1967), 38-44, 66-71; Mitford (1990), 2184; Fujii (2013), 63.

(sometimes commemorated in the same inscription) from individuals in fulfilment of a vow, though the nature of the vow is unclear.[930]

For example, **Kourion Inscription** (Fujii (2013) Kourion no.4):[931]

(ἔτους) γ′ Ἀπόλλωνι Ὑλάτῃ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι
Καίσαρι Ῥητορικὸς χαριστήριον.

Translation:

In the third year, to Apollo Hylates and Apollo
Caesar, Rhetorikos (dedicated this) thank offering.

Furthermore, Fujii has shown that dedications to Apollo Caesar reveal that living and dead Roman emperors received sacrifices and votive offerings in fulfilment of a vow and could be considered as personal gods.[932] If we are to consider the ambiguous and multifaceted identity of this deity, the notion that the cult was established in response to the benefactions of Trajan, as a display of provincial loyalty, now seems doubtful.

Adonis, Antinoos.

The introduction of a festival in honour of Antinoos, as Adonis, has been noted above.[933] Nothing further is known about the worship of Antinoos as Adonis after the inscription was set up in AD 131.

Perseutas, Perseus.

The connection between Kourion and Argos is further illustrated by the worship at Kourion of a god called Perseutas, an epithet denoting the demigod Perseus.[934] Inscriptions from the Hellenistic and Roman periods show that this deity was worshipped in the city and

[930] Cf. [A] *I.Kourion*, no. 120; Fujii (2013) Kourion no. 4; [B] *I.Kourion*, no. 123; Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1973b), 233-4; Fujii (2013) Kourion no. 9; [C] *I.Kourion*, no. 124; Fujii (2013) Kourion no. 10; [D] *I.Kourion*, no. 121; Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1973b), 232-3; Fujii (2013) Kourion no. 7 (Apollo Caesar alone).
[931] Other references: *I.Kourion*, no. 120. Present Location: Nicosia Museum, Cyprus, inv. no. 1954/IX–4/1/M 139.
[932] Fujii (2013), 64.
[933] Cf. This study, chapter four, section **4.3.3.2**. **Kourion Inscription** (Fujii (2013) Kourion no. 13).
[934] Cf. *I.Kourion*; Nicolaou (1976).

that the inhabitants of Kourion, as well as outsiders in the Roman period, recognised it as a city of Perseus.[935]

Kourion Inscription (*I.Kourion*, no. 89):[936]

Ποπλικόλαν Πρεῖσκόν με
πόλις Περσῆος ἄγαλμα, |
κοίρανον ἁγνείας,
στήσατο παρ' τεμένει.

Translation:

The city of Perseus set up me,
Publicola Priscus, a statue
the leader of holiness,
in the temenos.

This honorific slab of marble was possibly once fixed onto a pedestal bearing the statue of Publicola Priscus, possibly a Roman proconsul or administrative official. This monument was discovered in the sanctuary of Apollo Hylates and is thought to be dated to the end of the third century AD; the inscription is composed in elegaic couplets which, along with the use of vocabulary, according to Robert, were typical of honorific epigrams.[937] While the monument demonstrates that Kourion styled itself as the city of Perseus, the meter of the text makes Publicola Priscus a speaker too as he addresses the audience of the monument. Both an insider (here, the city) and outsider (the honorand Publicola Priscus) are speakers for the monument. The city therefore has constructed the outsider (Publicola Priscus) as a speaker of this identity. Perhaps because he was a Roman official this was a clever move by the city to voice its identity, and its connections with Argos and Perseus. In effect the city has created a situation in which a Roman official is affirming the city's self constructed identity

[935] Cf. *I.Kourion*, nos. 25, 65, 66, 90 for the Hellenistic inscriptions.
[936] Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1973b), 226-227; Robert (1948), 108-9. Present Location: Episkopi Museum, Cyprus, inv. n. I 146.
[937] Robert (1948), 108-9.

and claim to status. The monument can be considered as continuing in the spirit of earlier Hellenistic monuments in which Kourion was named a city of Perseus. Although the dating of the monument is not fixed, the features of the text render it typical of the Second Sophistic movement. It is a monument which evokes a distant past and emphasises the Greek foundation of the *polis* by identifying the *polis* with a Greek hero. Remarkably, this is affirmed by an outsider, a Roman speaker, who in effect has had the 'words put into his mouth' by the *polis*.

A fragmentary marble tablet, discovered at the sanctuary of Apollo Hylates, dated to AD 130/1, and set up by a Roman official, marks a local and global response to the death of Antinoos, lover of the Emperor Hadrian.

Kourion Inscription (Fujii (2013) Kourion no.13):[938]

[ἀγα]θῇ̣ (leaf) τύχῃ̣.
[---] πρεσβευτή̣[ς]
[--- Κύ]που, Ἀντινόῳ̣
[--- κελευ]σθεὶς ὑπὸ αὐτ[οῦ]
[--- ᾄ]σμα ἀνέθηκε[ν].
[---]εον ἄγγελον το[---]
[--- ὑμνοῦ]μεν Ἄ[δ]ωνιν ὑπὸ χθόνα πά[τρας]
[ἄπο κε]ίμενον Ἀντίνουν. λέγε μοι […]
Α...ΥΙΑ μελῶν. σοὶ γάρ με λυροκτύπ[ος εὐ]-
κόμης τὸν̣ ἀοιδὸν ἐθρέψατο μούνῳ. [σοὶ]
βάρβιτα, σοὶ κίθαριν δονῶ, παρὰ βωμὸν̣ […]
τον Ὕλάτα, σοι στησάμενος χορὸν ἀ[…]
τὸ Φορωνικὸν αἷμα τὸ Περσέως οι[...]
ἀκροτάτην λαχόν. ὑπὸ σαῖσι ταγαῖ[ς .]ε̣ ν[ῦν]
ᾄδω, ἰοβόσ̣τ̣[ρυχε] καλλικόμη μά[κ]α̣ρ̣ Βει-
[θ]ύνιε, π[αγχαριτ]ῶπα, χρυσοπτερύγου
γόνε μα[τέρ]ος.

[938] Other references: *I.Kourion*, no. 104; Lebek (1973); Peek (1974); Goukowsky (2002), 219–21; Kuhlmann (2002), 256-7; *SEG* 53.1747. Present Location: Episkopi Museum, Cyprus, inv. no. I 87 (a), I 91 A–C (b), I 112 (c), I 133 (e), I 172 (d).

Stemma:
Line 1: [ἀ]γαθῇ *I.Kourion* and Kuhlmann ‖ Line 3: [καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος Κ]ύπρου *I.Kourion*; [--- Κ]ύπρου Kuhlmann. ‖ Line 4: χαρι]σθεὶς? *I.Kourion*; [---]σθεὶς Lebek; [--- κελευ]σθεὶς (Peek); Kuhlmann and Fujii ‖ Line 5: [τοῦτο τὸ κιθάρι]σμα? *I.Kourion*; [---]σμα ἀνέθηκε[---] Lebek; [κατὰ ὄναρ τόδε ᾇ]σμα Peek; [ἄγαλ]μα Goukowsky. ‖ Line 6: [Μοῦσα, λαβ᾽ ἀργαλ]έον ἄγγελον τόν[δε] *I.Kourion*; [λέγε, Μοῦσα, θεῶν ν]έον ἄγγελον, τὸν Peek; [ἠγάθ]εον ἄγγελον Goukowsky; [---]έον ἄγγελον τον[---] Kuhlmann. ‖ Line 7: [ὡς αἰνοῦ]μεν *I.Kourion*; [θρηνοῦ]μεν Lebek; [ὑμνοῦ]μεν Peek. ‖ Lines 7–8: πα[τρίδ᾽ ἀποφ]θίμενον *I.Kourion*; πά[ρος ἄμμι καλού]μενον Lebek. ‖ Line 8: μοὶ [σύ, θεὰ] Peek. ‖ Line 9: [---]ια Lebek; δ[εδαυ]ῖα Peek and Kuhlmann. ‖ Lines 9–10: λυροκτύπ[ος ἠϋ]κόμης *I.Kourion*. ‖ Line 10: μουνω[θέντα] *I.Kourion*; μούνῳ. [μετὰ] Peek. ‖ Lines 11–12: κίθαρίν <τε> δονῶ, παρὰ βωμὸν [ἄθικ]τον *I.Kourion*; κίθαρίν δονῶ, παρὰ βωμὸν̣ [ἄθικ]τον Lebek; βωμὸν̣ [τοῦ]τον Peek. ‖ Lines 12–13: ἀ[ρρη]τοφόρων. ἶκον αἷμα *I.Kourion*; ἀ[γκαλῶ] τὸ Φορω[ν]ικὸν Lebek; ἀ[νδρῶν], τὸ Φορωνικὸν Peek. ‖ Line 13: οἵ̣[μην] *I.Kourion*; οἵ̣[ον πόλιν] or οἵ̣[αν πόλιν] Lebek; οἵ [τιμὴν] Peek. ‖ Line 14: ταγαῖ[ς. Σ]ε̣ *I.Kourion*; ταγαῖ[ς. Lebek; ταγαῖ[ς δ]έ̣ Peek. ‖ Line 16: π[ορφυρε]ῶπα *I.Kourion*; π[---]ῶπα Lebek; π[αῖ χαριτ]ῶπα Peek; π[αῖ φλογ]ῶπα Goukowsky. ‖ Line 17: μα[τρ]ός *I.Kourion*.

Translation:

With Good Fortune
[---] *legatus*
[---] of Cyprus, to Antinoos
[---] commanded by him
[---] set up as a votive gift the hymn.
[(Muse, receive)] this (troublesome?) message [---]
[---] (We) sing of Adonis, Antinoos
[who lies] buried beneath the earth of his fatherland.
Tell me of the songs. For the lovely-haired lyre player
raised me as a singer only for you. For you (I play) the lyre,
for you I play the kithara, by the altar [---]
Hylates; for you I established a chorus [---]
(from) the Phoronic blood of Perseus [---]
a highest destiny. Under your command I
now sing, the dark (haired) and beautiful haired
blessed Bithynian, purple-lipped, offspring of the mother
with golden wings.

It could be argued that the composition of this hymn in the Doric dialect not only followed the traditions of chorus lyric, but that it also highlighted Kourion's Argive

connection.[939] The inscription records the introduction of a festival for Antinoos into the Cypriot calendar. Kourion and Paphos were associated with the myths of Adonis, the favourite of Aphrodite, and it is known that his worship was incorporated into the worship of Aphrodite Paphia at Palaipaphos and also of Aphrodite at Amathous. Similarities can be found between the tragedy of both Adonis and Antinoos and so the festival of Antinoos has been identified as having roots in the worship of Adonis in Cyprus.[940]

Key to our understanding of an outsider's perception and construction of Kourion's civic identity are the references to the foundation of the city and that it was sprung from the blood of Perseus in line thirteen. Fujii has identified the figure of Phroneus, son of Inachos, as the first inhabitant of the Argolid and the discoverer of fire.[941] Therefore, it appears that the monument not only evokes the foundation myth of Kourion by directly referring to these two figures, but it also shows an interpretation of the local myth by an outsider to suit the political and cultural agenda of the Emperor Hadrian. The maintenance of Kourion's civic identity as an Argive foundation and sprung from the blood of the hero Perseus is affirmed by the Roman officials of the island, and to some extent must have been acknowledged by the emperor at Rome (particularly given the nature of the monument to Antinoos which no doubt would have been brought to the attention of Hadrian). However, this identity of Kourion is not known to have been affirmed officially by any authority beyond that of local Roman administration. A letter to Naryka from Hadrian illustrates that settlements that claimed foundations of Greek heroes could qualify as a *polis*.[942] It could be argued that Kourion sought to maintain its civic identity as an Argive and heroic foundation in order to emphasise

[939] See Kuhlmann (2002), 200; Fujii (2013), 129-31 on this hymn in general.
[940] For recent studies on Antinoos cf. Vout (2005) and (2007).
[941] Tatianus, *Oratio Ad Graecos*, 39: for a summary of Argive kings and the identity of Phoroneus. Fujii (2013), 130-1.
[942] Jones (2006); Cf. also Boatwright (2000).

and protect its status as a *polis* during the reign of Hadrian. That said, no evidence exists to suggest that the status of Kourion as a *polis* was under any threat, nor that of any city in Roman Cyprus for that matter. The motives of an outsider for providing such an important platform for the expression of this local foundation myth cannot be overlooked either. No doubt, the significance of Adonis in Cyprus, and the mythology of this figure which was interwoven with that of Aphrodite and Apollo, provided an excellent opportunity to connect Antinoos with Adonis and introduce a festival in honour of Hadrian's lover in Cyprus.

Curiously, neither archaeological nor literary sources link Perseus, or attest his worship in Kourion. This seems to suggest that the connection between the demigod and the city was locally inspired and only expressed in Kourion. It was not uncommon for cities to claim a connection with a god or hero to enhance their status and identity in the Greco-Roman world.[943] This evidence is reflected in the way in which the city of Kourion used myth to elevate its own status within Cyprus.

The Roman Emperor and Roma.

Little evidence survives which illuminates the organisation of the worship of the Emperor in Kourion. Amongst the imperial priests listed by Fujii only one appears to be from the city, a monument possibly from the late first century BC which also attests a priest of Roma.[944] The exact nature of the worship of the emperor within the sanctuary and the city is unclear. The sanctuary of Apollo in Kourion did not include a temple exclusively for the worship of the emperor or his household, nor has such an edifice been discovered in the city of Kourion, unlike in the city of Nea Paphos. As we have seen with the sanctuary of

[943] Cf. Ogden (2008).
[944] *I.Kourion*, no. 77; Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1973b), 219; Fujii (2013) Kourion no. 1. Cf. Fujii (2013), 82, 84 on Roma. A priest of Roma is also attested at Kition: Hogarth (1889), 109-10, no. 28; *I.Kition*, no. 2040; Fujii (2013) Kition no. 6.

Aphrodite Paphia at Palaipaphos, the worship of the Emperor and his household could run concurrently with the worship of the city's chief deity without upsetting the balance of power and identity of the city. Likewise, the worship of the Emperor and his presence was strongly felt at both the sanctuary of Apollo Hylates and in the city of Kourion. Along with the worship of Apollo Caesar, discussed above, religious and non-religious honorific monuments commemorating the Roman Emperor were set up both at the sanctuary and in high profile places within the city.[945] For instance, statue bases, plaques, and votives highlight that dedicants of monuments to the Emperor included Roman officials, the *boule* and *demos* of the city, local elites, and individuals. Inhabitants also performed a central role in donating imperial statues.[946] For example, a statue base which would have borne a statue of Nero, indicates the commemoration of cultic rituals at Kourion to Augustus and Nero.[947] The erection of this statue was funded by Kourion and is one of three statues set up to Roman Emperors whose expense was met in this way.[948] The text of this inscription also tells us that the proconsul Iulius Cordus approved the additional expense and that another proconsul Annius Bassus performed rituals for setting up the statue.[949] The appearance of Roman officials in this monument, and their involvement in the setting up of this statue, implies that

[945] Cf. [A] *CIG* II 2632; *IGR* III 971; Mitford (1947), 210, footnote 31; *BE* (1949), no. 214; *I.Kourion*, no. 84; Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1973b), 220–23; Fujii (2013) Kourion no. 2.
[B] Fragment I: *LBW* III 2810; *IGR* III 969. Fragment II: *LBW* 3.2816; *IGR* III 972; Assembled: Mitford (1961a), 124-5; *SEG* 20.157; *I.Kourion*, no. 85; Kantiréa (2008), 102, no. 77. Cf. Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1973b), 223–4; Fujii (2013) Kourion no. 12.
[C] *I.Kourion*, no. 93; Fujii (2013) Kourion no. 14.
[D] *I.Kourion*, no. 95; Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1973b), 228; Fujii (2013) Kourion no. 15.
[E] *I.Kourion*, no. 96; Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1973b), 228–9; Fujii (2013) Kourion no. 16.
[F] *I.Kourion*, no. 97; Fujii (2013) Kourion no. 17.
[946] Fujii (2013), 54-5. Cf. *I.Kourion*, no. 97; Fujii (2013) Kourion no. 17.
[947] Fujii (2013), 107-8. Cf. *CIG* II 2632; *IGR* III 971; Mitford (1947), 210, footnote 31; *BE* (1949), no. 214; *I.Kourion*, no. 84; Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1973b), 220-3; Fujii (2013) Kourion no. 2.
[948] Fujii (2013), 53-4. These three inscriptions are: Fujii (2013) Kourion no. 2; Paphos Nova no. 5; Paphos Vetus no. 17.
[949] Fujii (2013), 54.

Kourion may have overstretched its civic funds and intervention from Rome was required.[950] One possibility for this overspending could be overzealous attempts to compete with other cities to enhance its amenities and to display its loyalty to the Roman administration in hope of a reward.[951] Alternatively, the appearance of the proconsul in this monument could demonstrate the promotion of the worship of the emperor by his representatives by allowing the city to spend more money.[952] Fujii suggests that the second hypothesis is more probable than the overspending of the cities as the *proconsul* Annius Bassus himself performed the dedication rituals in the setting up of the statue, which he suggests would have been an elaborate ceremony which could include the distribution of wine, presents, money, and a public meal that attracted a wide range of the population.[953]

Theos Hypsistos.

Like at Palaipaphos and Nea Paphos, the worship of Theos Hypsistos can also be found in Kourion from the Hellenistic and Roman periods.[954] According to Mitford, the invocation of the god Theos Hypsistos in a funerary context at Kourion, was unique to Cyprus.[955] Furthermore, he automatically used the appearance of the god as evidence for Judaism or Christianity in Cyprus.[956] While it is evident that the god Hypsistos was associated with Judaism, the worship of Hypsistos or Theos Hypsistos was widespread across

[950] *I.Kourion*, 206, 216, 219; Fujii (2013), 54.
[951] Fujii (2013), 54.
[952] Fujii (2013), 54.
[953] Fujii (2013), 54.
[954] See *I.Kourion*, nos. 160 and 161; Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1973b), 235. Cf. This study, chapter four, sections **4.2.3.2**. and **4.4.3.2**.
[955] *I.Kourion*, 305-6.
[956] Cf. Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1973b), 235: Bagnall and Drew-Bear criticised Mitford for his identification of *I.Kourion*, nos. 160 and 161 as Jewish, or crypto-Christian epitaphs.

Asia Minor and also indicative of individual preference to worship a personal deity.[957] At Kourion, the presence of this deity should also be considered as ambigious.

4.3.4. Conclusions.

Virtually nothing is known about the use of calendars Roman Kourion, save for the introduction of the festival of Antinoos, and the city was not granted the title of *metropolis*. Therefore, other aspects of Roman Kourion's experience under Roman rule must be considered if we are to explore its status and the topic of civic rivalry.

The reputation of the city as stretching its civic purse, thus requiring the supervision of Roman officials in overseeing that the city did not bankrupt itself, has been discussed at length. The volume of inscriptions which attest the building activities of the city and sanctuary are relevant to the topic of civic rivalry. This characterisation, along with the possibility that the city, or someone local, set up a monument to Trajan to give the illusion that Hadrian visited the sanctuary of Apollo Hylates is indicative of how civic rivalry was expressed.[958] It also gives an impression of how the inhabitants of the city viewed themselves and the status of their *polis*. The study of the city's associated myths and local religions have been revealing too.

Like Nea Paphos and Palaipaphos, the foundation myth of Kourion shaped the religious landscape of the city and was key to its identity in the Roman period. Roman Kourion was known as an Argive city, the city of Perseus, a city of Apollo, and was embellished with structures and monuments that reflected its local character and far reaching connections.

[957] Trebilco (1991), 132.
[958] Cf. This study, chapter three, section **3.2.3**.

The otherwise unknown epithet of Apollo Hyle is evidence of this local interpretation of the god even though a connection was made between his presence at Kourion and the worship of Apollo at Delphi by Strabo in his discussion of the city. The dedications of Apollo Caesar alongside Apollo Hylates, and the presence of other deities, show that while the commemoration and worship of other gods was practised alongside the city's chief deity, they did not compromise the status or power of Apollo Hylates.

The local initiative to name Kourion as a city of Perseus is also testimony to the way in which local identity was generated and maintained by insiders. The claim that Kourion was a city of Perseus in a monument set up at the end of the third century AD is significant in light of the culture of the second sophistic movement. The implication of the foundation of the city in the monument can be considered as evidence of the city's assertion of its Greek identity under Roman rule. Furthermore, that this was also expressed in the Hymn to Antinoos, set up by an outsider - a Roman official, is remarkable and further evidence of Cyprus' local traditions being adapted to suit to Roman concerns. In this instance the introduction of a festival in honour of Hadrian's lover Antinoos, who was celebrated as Adonis in the hymn. While the religious and civic identity of Kourion, centred around Apollo and Perseus, is distinctive from that of other *poleis*, there is also a sense of connectivity between the two cities. Firstly, the possible identity of 'Kourion' as a figure related to Kinyras and the incorporation of the myth of Adonis, the favourite of Aphrodite, demonstrates how the myths of the cities overlapped. Secondly, the road which connected the sanctuaries of Aphrodite Paphia at Palaipaphos to that of Apollo Hylates at Kourion, which then went on to connect Kourion to Amathous, marks the physical connectivity of the cities. Finally, the archaeology of the sanctuary, particularly the style of the temple of Apollo Hylates in the

Roman period, points to connectivity of Kourion with the temple of Aphrodite at Amathous which is comparable, and with the wider region.

Although Mitford dismissed Roman Kourion as being a city which made no palpable impression on the Roman world of its day, the evidence studied so far suggests that Roman Kourion is an excellent case study for the interaction between a local provincial community, the eastern Mediterranean and near East, and Rome.

4.4. Amathous.

(Figures Three and Twenty-Two)

4.4.1. Previous study and characterisation of Amathous.[959]

Prior to the Roman period, the city of Amathous was known for being 'autocthonous' and fiercely independent of other Cypriot *poleis* until Ptolemaic rule.[960] For instance, Herodotus reported that Amathous refused to join the philhellene league of King Onesilos of Salamis[961] who led a revolt against the threat of Persian rule in 500-494 BC.[962] During the Hellenistic period, Amathous developed politically, socially, and economically.[963] It has been suggested that Amathous was the earliest of Cypriot cities to provide evidence for the 'Hellenisation' of Cypriot civic institutions during this period.[964] Roman Amathous pales in comparison with other Cypriot *poleis* for its surviving public monuments and inscriptions. The city is most notable for the Hellenistic and Roman funerary *cippi* found in its immediate environs.[965] Remaining structures of the city include a monumental *agora*, a double *stoa*, a monumental Hellenistic fountain, Roman commercial buildings, the remnants of two unidentified Roman temples and the Roman harbour, the shadows of which can be seen from

[959] For an overview of the city: Mitford (1980a), 1317-8; Watkin (1988), 195-203; Mitford (1990), 2185-7; Aupert ed. (1996); Fourrier and Hermary (2006); Aupert (2009).
Epigraphic surveys: While the inscriptions of Amathous have appeared systematically in *BCH*, a complete corpus of inscriptions discovered at the site is yet to be published. The inscriptions: Beaudouin and Pottier (1879a) and (1879b); Perdrizet (1896); Aupert and Masson (1979); Aupert (1980); Hermary and Hellmann (1980); Hermary and Masson (1982); Aupert (1982a); Aupert and Hermary (2006); Aupert (2008); Hermary (2010).
Studies on specific structures: Excavations of the city of Amathous have been conducted by the École française d'Athènes since 1976; the archaeological reports have been annually published in the *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* since 1976. Reports on the site of Amathous have also been regularly published in the *RDAC*.
[960] For an interesting interpretation of this autochtonous character and identity see Petit (1999).
[961] Salamis of Cyprus not Greece.
[962] Herodotus, *Historiae*, 5.105-114.
[963] Mitford (1980a), 1317-8, 1372-3; Mitford (1990), 2185-7; Watkin (1988), 195-202; Fujii (2013) in general; For a recent survey of the Hellenistic city see Aupert (2009).
[964] Watkin (1988), 195-202, 195.
[965] Mitford (1980a), 1318.

the *acropolis* below sea level.[966] (Figure Twenty-Three) The foundations of the sanctuary and temple of the city's chief deity, Aphrodite Cypria, survive on the city's *acropolis*. In general, the 'strangeness of Amathousian cults' has been noted in a previous study of religion in the city and its environs.[967] Most significant is the discovery of over 200 fragments of curse tablets from the third century AD which suggests that Amathous and its environs was a hub of magic in Roman Cyprus.[968] It is the aim of this section to explore the identity of the city as projected by literary and material sources and to reconsider the significance of Amathous' culture and society under Rome.

4.4.2. Settlement and foundation myth of the *polis*.

Although the archaeological and literary evidence points to the flourishing economic activities of Amathous and the renown of its chief deity throughout its ancient history, few literary sources document the foundation of the city. It is to the works of later authors that we must turn.

Although Nonnus, in his *Dionysiaca* - thought to have been written in the early fifth century AD, did not record the foundation of Kourion, he implied that the name of Amathous could have once been Kinyreia.[969] The inclusion of a 'Keryneia' by Pliny the Elder in his survey of Roman Cyprus is interesting as it implies that Amathous, or a settlement near it, could have once been named after Kinyras.[970] Stephanos Byzantios also wrote that Kinyras' mother was named Amathousa, thus implying that Kinyras founded the city and named it after her. He also wrote that Herakles had a son called Amathous which complicates this interpretation of a

[966] Cf. Aupert (2009), 44-6 in particular.
[967] Mitford (1980a), 1318. For cults of Amathous in general cf. Hill (1940), 77; Mitford (1990), 2185-7.
[968] Cf. This study, chapter two.
[969] Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, 23.451.
[970] Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historiae*, 5.35.130. This has been explored by Baurain (1981).

possible foundation by Kinyras.[971] Finally, the Byzantine scholar Photius, quoting the fourth century BC Theopompus, wrote that when Cyprus was colonised by the Greeks of Agamemnon, that Kinyras and his subjects were forced to leave Paphos and that the remnants of them formed the inhabitants of Amathous.[972] It is unclear whether these foundation myths were generated by insiders or outsiders. Furthermore, these myths associated with the foundation of Amathous do not appear to be commemorated or preserved in any material evidence found on site, unlike that of Nikokles and Kinyras at Palaipaphos and Nea Paphos or that of Perseus at Kourion. While it is difficult to define clearly the foundation myth of Amathous and also the motives of those who chose to record these anecdotes, it is striking that the figure of Kinyras should appear again as significant to the foundation of a city. The evidence from Paphos and its immediate environs emphasises the local significance of Kinyras and his descendants, something which seems to have extended to Amathous, suggesting that while the *poleis* of Roman Cyprus maintained local identities, an intricate network of local myths connected them too.

4.4.3. Local religious practice and organisation.

4.4.3.1. The Hellenistic period.

Alongside the worship of Aphrodite at Amathous, many otherwise unknown deities are attested in Hellenistic and Roman Amathous. The worship of Zeus Orompatas and Zeus Meilichios are attested epigraphically but are thought not to have survived into the Roman period.[973] The Hellenistic cults of Hera,[974] Zeus Labrianos, Ariadne, and Adonis are attested in the Roman period and will be discussed shortly. At the sanctuary of Aphrodite at

[971] Stephanus Byzantius, *Ethnica*, 174, entry 249 Amathous.
[972] Photius, *Bibliotheca*, 176.
[973] Cf. Mitford (1990), 2185. For the identity of Zeus Orompatas cf. Sittig (1915), 158.
[974] *LBW* III 2822.

Amathous a dedicaton survives which attests the worship of Isis, Sarapis, and Aphrodite at *theoi synnaoi* with the Ptolemies. Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II and his sister, and wife, Cleopatra II.[975] A variety of Egyptian and Phoenician deities, including Hathor, Baal, and Bes are attested.[976]

4.4.3.2. The Roman period.

Chief deity: Aphrodite of Amathous.

Recent studies of the sanctuary and temple of Aphrodite have brought to light the significance of the worship of Aphrodite at Amathous in relation to other deities worshipped on the island, and also the connection of the community of worshippers at this site with Rome, particularly the Emperor.[977]

The identity of Aphrodite of Amathous.

Roman literary sources and archaeological evidence indicate the importance of Aphrodite as the chief deity of Amathous across Cyprus. Two inscriptions from the fourth century BC, set up by King Androkles, appear to be the earliest attestations of Aphrodite at Amathous with the epithet *Cypria*.[978] The use of this epithet, along with Androkles' act of setting up an image of his son at the sanctuary of Aphrodite - as evidenced by one inscription, has been interpreted as a ploy by the King to attract the favours of the goddess towards his son and also to boost the revenue of the sanctuary.[979] Mitford suggested that the continued use of this title in the Hellenistic period indicated that the community of Amathous wished to

[975] For example: Fourrier and Hermary (2006), 163, inscription no. 3.
[976] Cf. Hermary (1988/2), 101-9; Aupert (2009), 32-4, 42-3, 47.
[977] For example: Hermary (1988/2); Fourrier and Hermary (2006); Aupert (2008); Kantiréa (2008); Fujii (2013).
[978] [A] Hermary and Hellmann (1980), no. 63; Hermary and Masson (1982), 240. [B] Hermary and Masson (1982), no. 66.
[979] Hermary and Hellmann (1980), 265.

assert its authority in Cyprus by giving their chief deity an epithet that implied her superiority.[980] This is a thought-provoking idea given the notoriety of Amathous' separateness from other Cypriot *poleis* and the appearance of the epithet in the Roman period is intriguing where the title *Cypria* is also epigraphically attested, along with a monument in Latin which names the goddess as 'Veneri'.[981] It must be noted, however, that these monuments were set up by proconsuls of Rome, in other words outsiders. The omission of the goddess from the oath of allegiance to Tiberius is notable. It is likely that she appeared in a lost section of the oath along with Aphrodite Paphia at Palaipaphos and Zeus Olympios of Salamis, separated from the remaining deities because of their antiquity and renown.[982] These were attributes which secured the sanctuary the right of asylum under Tiberius.[983]

The history and worship of Aphrodite at Amathous, as detailed in the literary sources, also signal some major differences between her identity and her worship elsewhere on the island, which no doubt had an impact on the focus of the worship of the goddess in this locality. Tacitus' *Annales* suggest that Amathous, a son of Aerias, was a possible founder of the sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia at Palaipaphos, and was also the founder of the temple of Amathous.[984]

One strand of her identity was that she was 'bearded' and possibly both male and female.[985] This particular aspect of her identity was documented by many authors writing under Rome. The first century BC poet Catullus wrote that Aphrodite was *duplex*

[980] *GIBM* IV 975; Mitford (1946), 40, footnote 64; *SEG* 45.1840; Cf. Hermary, (1982), 242, footnote 25; Masson (1988/2), 102; *SEG* 38.1500; *SEG* 40.1319. Cf. Mitford (1990), 2186.
[981] [A] Aupert and Hermary (2006), 88, A; *AnnÉp* (2006), no. 1562; *SEG* 56.1822; Fujii (2013) Amathous no. 2; [B] Mitford (1946), 40-2, no. 16; *BE* (1949), no. 210; *AnnÉp* (1950), no. 122; Aupert and Hermary (2006), 88, B; *AnnÉp* (2006), no. 1563; *SEG* 56.1823; Kantiréa (2008), 97; Fujii (2013) Amathous no. 3.
[C] This study, chapter two, section **2.4.4**. **Amathous Inscription** (Hermary (1988/2), 102, no. 5).
[982] Fujii (2013), 81.
[983] Tacitus, *Annales*, 3.62.4.
[984] Tacitus, *Annales*, 3.62.4; Karageorghis (2005), 77.
[985] Hermary (1988/2), 109; Karageorghis (2005), 110-1.

Amathousiae, meaning that she was both male and female.[986] The association of Aphrodite as *duplex* and able to take the form of both sexes was strong and upheld in the fifth century AD.[987] The ambiguous nature of Amathusian Aphrodite's identity as both male and female was also extended to the worship of other deities in the Roman period. For instance, Pausanias wrote that a male deity, a consort of Aphrodite was worshipped at Amathous.[988] Until recently, it appeared that material evidence did not support the worship of Adonis in Amathous in the literary record, but the recent discovery of a jug inscribed with a dedication to Helios-Adonis supports an anecdote of his worship provided by Pausanias.[989]

Another major strand of the identity of Aphrodite at Amathous was her association with the worship of Ariadne in the environs of the city. Plutarch, *Life of Theseus,* 20.1-8 recorded several versions of the myth of Ariadne and Theseus; quoting a myth recorded originally by a local Amathusian historian, Paion, he wrote that the Amathousians worshipped Ariadne in a sacred grove where she was buried having been abandoned by Theseus in Cyprus, where she died in childbirth.[990] A grove of Ariadne and Aphrodite has been suggested as existing in Amathous and a small cave to the south-east of the city has been identified.[991] Although the tragedy of Ariadne and Theseus takes place on Crete, it could be suggested that the local interpretation of the myth as ending in Amathous, rather than Naxos, is a deliberate evocation of the arrival of Cretans in Cyprus, also attested by

[986] Catullus, 68.51-52, 68.57. Cf. Mitford (1990), 2185.
[987] For example, Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, 3.8.2.
[988] Pausanias, 9.41.1-3.
[989] In addition to Pausanias, Stephanus Byzantius, *Ethnica*, 174, entry 249 also recorded the worship of Osiris in Amathous. Cf. Aupert (2008).
[990] The fragments of Paion can be found in *FGrH*, 757. Cf. also Karageorghis (2005), 82: on the 'tomb of Ariadne'. Cf Cueva (1996) for a study of Plutarch's version of the myth.
[991] Karageorghis (2005), 77.

eleventhcentury BC Cretan figurines.[992] The Amathusian version of the myth of Ariadne is not attested in any visual or literary form other than Plutarch.

In general, Ovid's characterisation of Aphrodite as powerful and vengeful is also worth exploring as it is specific to the city of Amathous. He wrote that Aphrodite punished a group of women from Amathous, known as the Propoetides, for denying her divinty of the goddess by forcing them into prostitution and also by transforming them into stone figures.[993] Ovid also recounted a myth whereby Aphrodite turned horned men, known as the Kerastes, who sacrificed strangers at the entrance of the city, into bulls.[994] The discovery of terracotta horned figurines at Amathous from the Hellenistic period, but not the Roman, could be interpreted as evidence for the local knowledge of this myth and the incorporation of horned figures in local religious practice before the Roman period.[995]

The sanctuary and temple of Aphrodite. (Figures Twenty-Four and Twenty-Five)

Tacitus recorded that the temple of Aphrodite at Amathous was founded by the son of King Aerias which associates the worship of the goddess with Aphrodite Paphia at Palaipaphos, which in turn was founded by King Aereas according to Tacitus.[996] The location of the sanctuary of Amathusian Aphrodite and the structure of her temple was very different to that of Aphrodite Paphis. Firstly the sanctuary of the goddess at Amathous was located on the *acropolis* of the city and her temple is thought to have been imposing. Secondly, the discovery of two inscriptions which record the rebuilding of a sacred site in the first century

[992] Karageorghis (2005), 77-8.
[993] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 10.220-243. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 6.98-100 also recounts the grief of Kinyras after Aphrodite has transformed his daughters from human form to stone.
[994] Karageorghis (2005), 79. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 10.220-243.
[995] Hermary and Aupert (1979). Cf. Hermary (1983), (1985), and Aupert and Hermary (2006) for the discussion of other statuary at Amathous which includes the discovery of a marble head which has been tentatively identified as Aphrodite Cypria.
[996] Tacitus, *Annales*, 3.62.4.

AD by the proconsul Lucius Bruttius Maximus reveal how the worship of the goddess, alongside that of the Emperor Titus, was incorporated into the landscape of the city. The sanctuary on the *acropolis* will be discussed first.

Excavations have revealed that the first building phase of the temple to Aphrodite on the *acropolis* can be dated to the very end of the Hellenistic period in the first century BC.[997] A major programme for the construction of this sanctuary and temple took place between 75-80 AD,[998] and then again later in the first years of the second century AD.[999] (Figure Twenty-Six) As mentioned in discussion of the temple of Apollo Hylates at Kourion, the form of the temple of Aphrodite at Amathous was a traditional Greek temple and was comparable to the temple of Apollo Hylates and also the temple of Zeus Olympios at Salamis.[1000] The temple of Apollo Hylates is considered closest in design and structure to the temple of Aphrodite of Amathous in the Roman period as they were roughly contemporary and possibly designed by related teams if not the same individuals.[1001] For example, a common feature of both temples was the use of Nabataean capitals in its design.[1002] As previously mentioned, the main construction of this temple took place during the first century AD. Following this, further extensions were built in the second century AD.[1003]

Two inscriptions from Amathous not only attest rebuilding a second sacred site for the worship of Aphrodite at Amathous, overseen by the proconsul Lucius Bruttius Maximus, but also provide an insight into the worship of Titus alongside the goddess, named Aphrodite

[997] Aupert (2009), 34.
[998] Cf. Hermary (1994); Aupert (1996), 122-8.
[999] Hermary (1994), 328.
[1000] Hermary (1994), 328.
[1001] Hermary (1994), 329.
[1002] Cf. Bessac and Raboteau (2000).
[1003] Hermary (1994), 329; Aupert (2009), 39-41.

Cypria, as *theos synnaos*.[1004] One inscription naming the proconsul and his dedication was discovered *in situ* to the northwest of the north city gate, the second inscription naming the proconsul was discovered in a re-used context at Agios Tychonas but it is clear that the two documents are related.[1005] The discovery of the inscription *in situ* on site is suggestive of how the reconstruction and extension of this sacred site altered the civic landscape of Amathous. It is thought that the original Hellenistic temple of Aphrodite at this site collapsed as the result of an earthquake in AD 76/7 which affected the whole of the island.[1006] The inscriptions reveal that the proconsul, Lucius Bruttius Maximus, oversaw the reconstruction of the temple, and added an extension, and in doing so introduced the worship of the Emperor into the sanctuary of Aphrodite. The alterations of the temple of Aphrodite Cypria changed the appearance of the city wall, which Fujii considers 'the pride of the Greek city'.[1007] The position of the inscription detailing the alterations made by Bruttius must have been prominent and attracted the attention of any visitor approaching the city gate from the north.[1008] For Fujii, the worship of the emperor 'altered, or added a new element to, the civic identity of Amathous, while its sanctuary joined a group of monuments that shaped the physical appearance of the city.'[1009]

It is suggested that the structure of this sacred site and the inscribed steles were arranged so as to differentiate the identity of the goddess invoked at this site - that is

[1004] [A] Aupert and Hermary (2006), 88, A; *AnnÉp* (2006), no. 1562; *SEG* 56.1822; Fujii (2013) Amathous no. 2; [B] Mitford (1946), 40-2, no. 16; *BE* (1949), no. 210; *AnnÉp* (1950), no. 122; Aupert and Hermary (2006), 88, B; *AnnÉp* (2006), no. 1563; *SEG* 56.1823; Kantiréa (2008), 97; Fujii (2013) Amathous no. 3.
[1005] Fujii (2013), 58-9.
[1006] Fujii (2013), 59.
[1007] Fujii (2013), 60.
[1008] Fujii (2013), 60.
[1009] Fujii (2013), 60-1.

Aphrodite Cypria, perhaps to denote her status as 'the great mother', who was different from the Aphrodite worshipped in the temple on the *acropolis* of Amathous. [1010]

This site at Amathous is unique in that it was the only place in Cyprus to have been completely remodelled to house the worship of a Roman Emperor.[1011] Kantiréa's study of the worship of the Emperors across the island interpretted the evidence from Amathous as evidence for the character of the worship of the emperor across the whole island.[1012] Kantiréa stated that Aphrodite at Paphos retained imperial favour from Julius Caesar to the Flavians which resulted in the co-habitation of Aphrodite and Emperors, citing evidence for the worship of Titus and Aphrodite at Amathous.[1013] Fujii rightly challenges this assumption and asks, 'should we not presume a different background for the cults of Aphrodite in Paphos and in Amathous, respectively?'[1014] While similarities can be detected, the worship of the Emperor, or indeed of any other deity, in more than one location would always be determined and influenced by local factors. For instance, Titus' status as *theos synnaos* should be interpreted with care; the form of a temple to the Emperor, and even the number of temples dedicated, is not firmly attested archaeologically.[1015] Nevertheless, the apparent equal status of Aphrodite Cypria and the Emperor Titus at Amathous is unparalleled across the island.[1016] However, it is interesting to note that the inscriptions reveal the activities of the proconsul only. Nothing is known of Amathous' contribution to reconstruction of this site. Fujii has

[1010] Aupert (1996), 60-1; Aupert and Hermary (2006), 90-3; Fujii (2013), 54. 59-60. Cf. Mitford (1946), 40-2, no. 16; Mitford (1980a), 1318; Mitford (1990), 2185-7: Mitford interpreted the discovery of the fragmentary inscription of L. Bruttius Maximus (Fujii (2013) Amathous no. 3) as a sacred site marked out by seven free standing stele and connected the myth of the Propoetides, as recounted by Ovid *Metamorphoses*, 10.238. He interpreted the steles named in the inscription as representations of the stone forms that the Propoetides were transformed into by Aphrodite.
[1011] Fujii (2013), 61.
[1012] Kantiréa (2008), 97: that the worship of the Roman Emperor in the Cypriot context was performed in line with empire wide ideology from imperial perspective.
[1013] Fujii (2013), 16-7.
[1014] Fujii (2013), 16-7.
[1015] Fujii (2013), 58.
[1016] Fujii (2013), 58.

suggested that 'it may be reasonable to assume that the civic purse of Amathous covered part of the cost of the sanctuary, by order of Bruttius.'[1017]

The organisation of the worship of Aphrodite Cypria at Amathous is a mystery as inscriptions do not attest the names and activities of priests of the cult.

Bes.

Although the worship of the Egyptian god Bes is not attested in the epigraphy of Cyprus, the presence of this deity in the Hellenistic and Roman period is worth mentioning here. This Egyptian god was particularly associated with procreation and childbirth and was known to be popular in Egypt and with the Roman army.[1018] The worship of Bes is certain in Amathous and had a significant impact on the landscape of Amathous. Sanctuary of Bes located in the Agora - second century BC.[1019] The discovery of several statues of the Egyptian god Bes suggests the popularity of this deity in the Hellenistic period and possibly the Roman period. Several statuettes, including a colossal one, have been discovered in the agora of Amathous.[1020]

Theos Hypsistos.

The worship of Theos Hypsistos is also attested at Amathous and, at this stage, little can be added to the discussion of this deity in the *polis* and its environs.[1021]

[1017] Fujii (2013), 60.
[1018] Hart (2005), 49-50.
[1019] Aupert (2009), 30-1; Wilburn (2012), 175, 209.
[1020] For example: Karageorghis (1978), 881: 3-4.
[1021] Cf. This study, chapter four, sections **4.2.3.2**. and **4.3.3.2**.

Helios-Adonis.

As mentioned above, the recent discovery of the votive to Helios-Adonis which is dated to AD 18 also reveals the prevalence of eastern and Egyptian religious practices at Amathous in the Roman period.

Amathous Inscription (Aupert (2008), 349-70):[1022]

Ἡλίῳ Ἀδώνιδι Ὀνεσικράτης ὁ καὶ Εὔνους Ἀκχαίου
εὐξάμενος ἀπο(ρ)ρυ[σ]ικέᾳ ἀνέθηκεν L - μ Ῥωμαίου ζ

Translation:

To Helios-Adonis, Onesikrates the son of Acchaios also known as Eunos
dedicated this *aporrusikeus* in fulfilment of a vow, the 40th year, the 7th of Rome.

The discovery of this inscribed jug also confirms Pausanias' claim that an old sanctuary of Adonis existed at Amathous.[1023] The annecdote provided by Pausanias states that the sanctuary was that of Adonis and of Aphrodite. male consort of Aphrodite was worshipped at Amathous. Aupert's study of this artefact explores the presence and identity of Helios-Adonis in Amathous. For Aupert, the discovery of the jug in a well, along with a curse tablet which was deposited centuries later, implies that the offering to Helios-Adonis was placed in the well during a festival as part of a ritual and was intended to act as a form of communication with the underworld.[1024] Aupert also suggested that if the deposit was deliberate, that it implies that the worship of Adonis was linked with that of Aphrodite at Amathous, and that the festival of the *Adonia* could have taken place within her sanctuary.[1025] Furthermore, the lack of any mention of Adonis in the inscriptions which record the restoration of the sanctuary of Aphrodite some sixty years later is suggestive of the secondary

[1022] Present Location: Larnaka Museum(?), Cyprus, Inv. no. 08.108.10=AM 3416.
[1023] Pausanias, 9.41.1-3.
[1024] Aupert (2008), 367.
[1025] Aupert (2008), 367.

status of Adonis to Aphrodite.[1026] The appearance of Adonis as Helios-Adonis also reveals Phoenician and Egyptian influences in Amathous.[1027]

Hera.

Epigraphic evidence attests a Heraeum in Amathous in the late third century BC, and an inscription dated to the reign of Claudius reveals that Hera continued to be venerated in the first century AD.[1028] This evidence can be considered as remarkable because it has been recognised that evidence for the worship of Hera was rare in Cyprus in general.[1029] Although this inscripton is extremely fragmentary, lines three to four describe the παρ[α]νυνφευσάντων, a sacred marriage, of participants of the cult.[1030] No further evidence for the worship of Hera survives after AD 50 and so the longevity of the cult is unknown.[1031] It is possible that the individuals named in the inscription as being joined in marriage were perhaps related to the worship of the local goddess Aphrodite too as well as Hera.[1032]

[1026] Aupert (2008), 367.
[1027] Aupert (2008), 370; Aupert (2009), 43-4. Cf. Aupert (2008) in general for an exploration of the pairing of Adonis with other deities. Significantly, a lamp of uncertain date naming Helios Sarapis has been discovered in the Paphos region which attests the presence of Helios elsewhere. Cf. *I.Paphos*, no. 285.
[1028] Mitford (1980a), 1318; Mitford (1990), 2185-6; *LBW* III 2822 of late third century BC. Other inscriptions for the worship of Hera from the Hellenistic period includes: at Kourion - Hera Argeia is named on a statue base *I.Kourion*, no. 41; At Palaipaphos with Aphrodite and Zeus Polios - Mitford (1961b), no. 103; and of an unknown date at Idalion - Beaudouin and Pottier (1879a), 166-7, no. 10.
[1029] Hermary (2010), 121.
[1030] Other references: *IGR* III 974; *LBW* III 2823; *SEG* 38.1500; *ICA* (in *RDAC* 1995), 225-6, no. 18; *SEG* 45.1841. Present Location: Limassol Museum, Cyprus, inv. no. RR. 1587/7.
[1031] Hermary (2010), 129.
[1032] Hermary (2010), 130.

The Roman Emperor.

As few as three inscriptions attest the worship of the emperor at Amathous.[1033] The earliest monument is a base for a statue of Augustus, now lost, from the *acropolis* of Amathous and attests the veneration of Augustus as divine, perhaps in his own lifetime.[1034] The remaining two inscriptions reveal the worship of Titus with Aphrodite Cypria which has been discussed above.

Zeus Labranios.

The worship of Zeus Labranios at Phasoulla, six miles north of Limassol - the modern day town near ancient Amathous, is attested. The worship of Zeus is evidenced by inscriptions and sculpture, suggesting that worship was active from the late second to the fourth century AD.[1035]

Amathous as a hub of magic.

Chapter two of this thesis discussed the discovery of a cache of lead and selenite *defixiones* at Amathous. As previously mentioned these *defixiones* have been dated to the end of the second century to the third century AD and were legal in nature, detailing an individuals desire to have their victim, or victims,bound or restricted in some way so that they could not speak in court. Until recently studies of the curse tablets described them as

[1033] [A] Beaudouin and Pottier (1879a), 168, no. 13; *IGR* III 973; Bekker-Nielsen (2004), 256, no. 18; Fourrier and Hermary (2006), 7; Fujii (2013) Amathous no. 1.
[B] Aupert and Hermary (2006), 88, A; *AnnÉp* (2006), no. 1562; *SEG* 56.1822; Fujii (2013) Amathous no. 2.
[C] Mitford (1946), 40-2, no. 16; *BE* (1949), no. 210; *AnnÉp* (1950), no.
122]; Aupert and Hermary (2006), 88, B; *AnnÉp* (2006), no. 1563; *SEG* 56.1823; Fujii (2013) Amathous no. 3.
[1034] Beaudouin and Pottier (1879a), 168, no. 13; *IGR* III 973; Bekker-Nielsen (2004), 256, no. 18; Fourrier and Hermary (2006), 7; Fujii (2013) Amathous no. 1. Cf. Fujii (2013), 25 for other inscriptions that attest the veneration of the emperors as *theos* within their own lifetime.
[1035] Mitford (1980a), 1372, and footnote 460: Mitford (1990), 2186-7. cf. Mitford (1946), 27, nos. 3-9; Mitford (1947), 25-6, no. 2; Mitford (1961a), 111, nos. 12 and 13.

being discovered in the vicinity of Kourion, however they in fact were discovered near Amathous. This is important to emphasise because Wilburn's recent study of the the quality of the tablets and the style of magic inscribed on the tablets highlighted influences from outside and local practices of magic that are significant to this exploration of Roman Amathous. It must be stressed, however, that Wilburn's comparison of the *defixiones* of Amathous with other examples of magic tablets from across the island has revealed that there was not a particular style of magic or practice that was specific to Cyprus. This section of the chapter will consider the use of lead and selenite in Amathous, the influence of magic from outside the island in the *defixiones*, and the identity of the practitioners.

Wilburn highlighted the different practices associated with the *defixiones* of lead and of selenite in Cyprus. For Wilburn, the deposit of two different types of curse tablet in the same location can be considered as remarkable. The use of selenite is something that could be considered as specific to the local character of magic at Amathous. Selenite is a mineral that has been mined in Cyprus since antiquity, its use at Amathous was no doubt practical because it was a local material that could be acquired with minimal expense. Furthermore, the translucent appearance of selenite, and the derivation of its name from the Greek word for the moon, selene, also implies that it was associated with the moon. It could be th case that the commissioners and practicioners of magic at Amathous in the second to third centuries AD considerd the materiality of selenite as something that would enhance the power of the curse.[1036]

While Pliny the Elder wrote that magic flourished on Cyprus during his lifetime, he did not differentiate magic of Jews, Zoroastrians, and magic practiced on Cyprus.[1037] Various studies of the published tablets have revealed that Jewish, Greek, and Egyptian influences can

[1036] Wilburn (2012), 184-5.
[1037] Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, 30.2.

be detected.[1038] The idea that the practice of magic at Amathous was associated with Judaism is the most striking to consider. According to Mitford, the *defixiones* of Amathous were 'doubtless' the work of a Jewish *magus*.[1039] This association was questioned by Drew-Bear in his study of the *defixiones* in response to Mitford's presentation of them in *I.Kourion*. For Drew-Bear, Mitford's focus on the *defixiones* and on the history of sorcerors on Cyprus was unnecessary.[1040] Most recently, Wilburn's study does not focus on the supposed influence of Judaism in the *defixiones*, save for the invocation of demon named as Sisokhor in *I.Kourion* no. 127, line fourteen.

Attention should now be focused on other outside influences that can be detected in these tablets. Studies have shown that in form and content the *defixiones* belong nevertheless to the common demonology of their day, being appeals to an array of daemons to destroy the litigant's opponents.[1041] While the majority of the tablets remain unpublished, three details regarding the published tablets are striking to consider. First is the influence of Homeric vocabulary and phrase structure of the *defixiones*.[1042] Drew-Bear has shown that the majority of the *defixiones* begin with four dactylic hexameters, preserved in whole or in part of the documents.[1043] Furthermore, the appearance of the deity Erinues, traditional spirit of vengeance, only attested in Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* is also telling.[1044]

[1038] Gager (1992), 133; Wilburn (2012), 176.
[1039] Mitford (1980a), 1380. Mitford (1990), 2204; 2205, and footnote 156.: For Mitford, evidence of sorcerers identified as Jews in Cyprus in the literary record cemented the association of the *defixiones* of Amathous as being the work of a Jewish magus, but he was not critical about the appearance of Jewish sorcerors in these literary texts. For example, cf. *Acts of the Apostles*, 13.4-12; Josephus, *Antiquities*, 20.141-144. Repeated in Gager (1992), 132 and footnote 44.
[1040] Drew-Bear (1972), 102.
[1041] Mitford (1990), 2205, and footnote 159.
[1042] Drew-Bear (1972), 89-90; Gager (1992), 135.
[1043] Drew-Bear (1972), 87-8: But that the magicians lost sight of the metrical nature. Opening evident in *I.Kourion* nos. 127; 131; 133; 134; 135; 136; 138; 139; 140.
[1044] Homer, *Iliad*, 9.454; 571; *Odyssey*, 17.457.

The invocation of other deities known from Egyptian culture or associated with gods of the Greek pantheon are also worth considering. Two examples will be given here. For example, one tablet alludes to the story of Adonis entering and leaving the underworld.[1045] While this detail could be considered as significant to the practice of magic in general, because of the way in which magical tablets were deposited and also because the intended audience were often demons and gods of the underworld, the invocation of Adonis is also specific to Amathous because of the myths that we have seen associated with his worship that were local to the area. Finally, the invocation of the god Osurapio, an early name for Sarapis, also points to the influence of Egyptian deities in the text of these *defixiones*.[1046] It is clear that Amathous was a place of exchange of knowledge and practices in Roman period in the second to third centuries AD.

Finally, recent re-evaluation of the identity of the practitioners of magic at Amathous allows us to think further about the place of magic in Amathous.[1047] The style, content, and quality of the penmanship of the tablets in general reveal that they were produced with great skill, and were the work of many professional hands.[1048] Wilburn suggested three potential arrangements of this group which do not have to be mutually exclusive: first is that the practitioners were a formal economic organisation or collegia; second is that they represented an informal educational group of a master and one or more apprentices; and thirdly, that they were a religious group, affiliated with a temple or cult site at Amathous, who performed private ritual functions.[1049] These are tentative and fragile hypotheses, but valuable to consider when thinking about the role of magic at Amathous. Furthermore, these recent ideas

[1045] *I.Kourion* no. 127, line 14. Drew-Bear (1972), 92-3; Gager (1992), 135.
[1046] Gager (1992), 135. Elements of Osiris and Apis. Wilburn (2012), 190-1. Line 34.
[1047] Wilburn (2012), 200-9.
[1048] Wilburn (2012), 205.
[1049] Wilburn (2012), 203.

mark a significant departure in thought from Mitford's notion that the tablets were the work of a Jewish *magus.*

In sum, studies have shown that there was nothing distinctively Cypriot about these tablets and the practice of magic at Amathous. It is clear that the practitioners of magic at the city were highly skilled professionals and that magic was big business.[1050] The discovery of the *defixiones* is evidence of the collation and reworking of spells that were thought to have originated from Egypt, particularly Thebes.[1051] Given Amathous' position as an important economic hub, facing Egypt this is hardly surprising.

4.4.4. Conclusions.

From its earliest history Amathous has been identified as a *polis* that was different culturally and politically from the other *poleis* of Cyprus. It could be argued that this distinction was maintained in the Roman period. While nothing is known about the use of calendars in Roman Amathous, similar to Roman Kourion, the city allegedly named itself as *metropolis* in a monument set up to the Emperor Caracalla. This inscription remains unpublished but indicates the way in which Roman Amathous competed for status with other Roman Cypriot *poleis*. While this cannot be confirmed at this stage, the study of its associated myths and local religions has opened up our present understanding of the identity of the city in the Roman period.

The foundation myth of the city is not as well documented by the literary sources as other Cypriot *poleis*. It is possible to hazard that its creation was the initiative of insiders, but it is difficult to ascertain how significant it was to the identity of the city in the Roman period. The idea that the city was named after Kinyras' mother or son is interesting and

[1050] Wilburn (2012), 174.
[1051] Wilburn (2012), 197, 200.

implies wide reaching significant of the mythology of Kinyras across the island. Other myths associated with Amathous shaped the character of its local religions too. While these were maintained by outsiders in the Roman period, the mention of Paion of Amathous by Theseus strongly suggests the very local generation and adaptation of well known myths by insiders, no doubt to raise the profile of the city. While very little is known about the worship of Aphrodite at Amathous from the archaeological record, literature points to a very specific Amathusian identity of the goddess which marked her out as different from Aphrodite Paphia. Her identity as duplex in particular was maintained by Roman authors, indicating the renown fo the goddess. The association of Aphrodite with Ariadne and Adonis in the literary record, and now proven in the archaeological record, highlights the multifacted character and identity of local religions practiced at Amathous. Furthermore, the emphasis on the death of Ariadne in childbirth on Cyprus, along with the chthonic associations of Adonis, suggest the identification of all three deities with rituals of fertility. The worship of Aphrodite alongisde the Emperor Trajan is also significant and emphasises that the worship of the Roman Emperor was not homogenous across the island. It is only at Amathous the a shrine which was created for both the worship of the Emperor and the chief deity of the city is known. Furthmore, the inscriptions which attest this worship invoke Aphrodite as Aphrodite of Cyprus. The use of this epithet by an outsider is interesting as it implies the supremacy of the goddess Aphrodite in the city. The structure of the temple of Aphrodite that was built on the *acropolis* also highlights the connectivity of the city to others, mostly because the style of the temple is comparable to that of Apollo Hylates and also Zeus Olympios. The style of the temple with its Nabataean capitals is reflective of Syrian architecture on the island. Finally, the deposit of the legal curse tablets outside the city also points to the exchange of knowledge and ideas with Egypt during the Roman period. In general, the influence of Homeric

vocabulary and language structure, along with the influence of deities known from the Egyptian, Greek and Jewish pantheon is also reflective of the cosmopolitan nature of Amathous as a place for the exchange of knowledge and ideas.

Roman Amathous was a city that can be considered as possessing strong connections with the other cities of Cyprus and localities beyond the island, particularly Egypt. The connectivity of Amathous to other *poleis* of Roman Cyprus is evidenced by the physical road which connected the sanctuaries of Aphrodite Paphia, Apollo Hylates and Amathous. The worship of Aphrodite and the presence of the myth of Adonis and Kinyras in the area also connects Amathous with remainder of the island as these themes were common. However, the nuances of these common myths were specific to Amathous and along with the worship of Ariadne, Helios-Adonis, the specific character of Amathusian Aphrodite, and other deities highlights that while the city enjoyed far reaching connections, its identity can truly be considered as unusual and local. Finally, the maintenance of Egyptian traditions and cults appears to be more pronounced at Amathous compared to other *poleis* studies so far.

4.5. Salamis.

(Figures Three and Twenty-Seven)

4.5.1. Previous study and characterisation of Salamis.

Developing our understanding of Salamis' civic identity and experience under Rome is problematic. Although it is the best preserved, and one of the archaeologically richest, ancient cities in Cyprus, excavations of the site officially ceased following the war of 1974. Access to already excavated material held in Northern Cyprus is also prohibited, making it difficult to re-examine archaeological data, particularly inscriptions.

Previous study of Hellenistic and Roman Salamis has focused on its rich epigraphy and the development of its institutions and topography.[1052] Mitford described Salamis as initially being bitter towards Rome, having been supplanted as provincial capital by Paphos in the second century BC. His characterisation of Salamis as a *polis* resistant to Rome and the adoption of Roman customs was also driven by other factors, such as Salamis' use of a local Egyptian calendar and the lack of monuments to the Julio-Claudian Emperors in the early stages of Roman rule.[1053] Salamis' 'rough initiation' into Roman rule when the city suffered at the hands of Brutus, who illegally loaned money to the city and threatened it with force in an attempt to retrieve repayment, was the most important factor considered.[1054]

Despite the political demotion of the city in the second century BC, inscriptions suggest that Salamis flourished into an impressive city, the monumental and economic

[1052] For an overview of the city: Karageorghis (1969); Mitford (1980a), 1321-5; Mitford (1980b); Mitford (1990); 2189-90; Watkin (1988), 328-56; Yon (1997): in general on Research at Salamis in Cyprus. Relations between Salamis and the Aegean West. General overview but misses out Roman period. Yon (2009).
Epigraphic surveys: Tubbs (1981); *I.Salamis*, *Salamine de Chypre* XIII
For studies on specific structures and sculptural remains refer to: Karageorghis (1964); Karageorghis and Vermeule (1966); Vermeule (1979).
[1053] Mitford (1980a), 1321, and footnote 136.
[1054] Mitford (1980a), 1322, and footnote 148; (1980a), 1295, and footnote 29.

importance of which was maintained during Roman rule.[1055] A monumental *agora*, *gymnasium*, baths, a *temenos* of Zeus Olympios, a theatre, and an amphitheatre are amongst the surviving remains of the city. (Figures Twenty-Eight, Twenty-Nine, Thirty, and Thirty-One) All of these spaces no doubt provided impressive settings for honorific monuments and influenced collective experience.

4.5.2. Settlement and foundation myths of the *polis*.

The legendary founder of Salamis was Teuker, the half brother of the Greek hero Ajax who fought alongside him at Troy.[1056] Myths attesting Teuker's relationship with Ajax and his exploits at Troy are numerous and varied.[1057] The foundation of Salamis by Teuker occurred because on his return from Troy to his native Salamis (in Greece), his father Telamon, angry that he returned from the war without his brother Ajax, banished him.[1058] Several versions of the myths suggest that he went on to Cyprus on the advice of an oracle of Apollo.[1059] The story of Teuker's settlement in Cyprus was later embellished by Virgil who wrote that the Greek hero established himself on the island with the aid of Carthaginian Dido's father Belos.[1060] Pausanias integrated anecdotes about Teuker and the mythical traditions associated with him in Salamis throughout his work.[1061] Interestingly, he wrote that

[1055] Mitford (1980a), 1321-2; Mitford (1990), 2189.
[1056] Sources citing Teuker as the founder of Salamis include: Pindar *Nemean* 4.46; Euripides, *Helen*, 87-104; Sophocles, *Ajax*, 1008-20; Virgil, *Aeneid*, 1.619-22; Pausanias, 8.15.6-7; Justinus, *Epitoma Historiarum Philippicarum, Pompei Trogi*, 44.3.2.
[1057] General sources on Teuker include: Homer, *Iliad*, 8.266-334; 12.387-405; 15.436-83; 23.859-83; Sophocles, *Ajax*, 992-1001; 1006-21; Apollodorus, *Epitome*, 5.5.
[1058] Teuker foresaw his own banishment in Sophocles, *Ajax*, 1006-21.
[1059] Cf. Pindar, *Nemean*. 4.46; Euripides, *Helen*, 87-104; Sophocles, *Ajax*, 1008-20.
[1060] Virgil, *Aeneid*, 1.619-22.
[1061] Pausanias, 1.3.2; 1.23.8; 1.28.11; 1.35.4-5; 2.29.4; 8.15.7.

Teuker married Eune who was either a daughter, or granddaughter, of Kinyras, or daughter of Kypros, thus connecting Salamis with Paphos mythologically. Pausanias, 1.3.2:[1062]

πλησίον δὲ τῆς στοᾶς Κόνων ἕστηκε καὶ Τιμόθεος υἱὸς Κόνωνος καὶ βασιλεὺς Κυπρίων Εὐαγόρας, ὃς καὶ τὰς τριήρεις τὰς Φοινίσσας ἔπραξε παρὰ βασιλέως Ἀρταξέρξου δοθῆναι Κόνωνι: ἔπραξε δὲ ὡς Ἀθηναῖος καὶ τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος, ἐπεὶ καὶ γενεαλογῶν ἐς προγόνους ἀνέβαινε Τεῦκρον καὶ Κινύρου θυγατέρα. ἐνταῦθα ἕστηκε Ζεὺς ὀνομαζόμενος Ἐλευθέριος καὶ βασιλεὺς Ἀδριανός, ἐς ἄλλους τε ὢν ἦρχεν εὐεργεσίας καὶ ἐς τὴν πόλιν μάλιστα ἀποδειξάμενος τὴν Ἀθηναίων.

Pausanias also wrote that the kings of Salamis claimed descent from Teuker down to the time of Evagoras, a tradition and ideology that can be paralleled with the blood line of Kinyras in Nea Paphos. Pausanias, 2.29.4:[1063]

γεγόνασι δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν Πηλέως οἱ ἐν Ἠπείρῳ βασιλεῖς, Τελαμῶνος δὲ τῶν παίδων Αἴαντος μέν ἐστιν ἀφανέστερον γένος οἷα ἰδιωτεύσαντος ἀνθρώπου, πλὴν ὅσον Μιλτιάδης, ὃς Ἀθηναίοις ἐς Μαραθῶνα ἡγήσατο, καὶ Κίμων ὁ Μιλτιάδου προῆλθον ἐς δόξαν: οἱ δὲ Τευκρίδαι βασιλεῖς διέμειναν Κυπρίων ἄρχοντες ἐς Εὐαγόραν. Φώκῳ δὲ Ἄσιος ὁ τὰ ἔπη ποιήσας γενέσθαι φησὶ Πανοπέα καὶ Κρῖσον: καὶ Πανοπέως μὲν ἐγένετο Ἐπειὸς ὁ τὸν ἵππον τὸν δούρειον, ὡς Ὅμηρος ἐποίησεν, ἐργασάμενος, Κρίσου δὲ ἦν ἀπόγονος τρίτος Πυλάδης, Στροφίου τε ὢν τοῦ Κρίσου καὶ Ἀναξιβίας ἀδελφῆς Ἀγαμέμνονος. γένη μὲν τοσαῦτα τῶν καλουμένων Αἰακιδῶν, ἐξεχώρησε δὲ ἑτέρωσε ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς.

[1062] Translation: Close to the stoa of Konon stand Timotheus son of Konon and Evagoras King of Cyprus, who made the triremes of the Phoenicians be given to Konon by King Artaxerxes. He did this as an Athenian and with ancestry from Salamis, since he traced his pedigree back to Teuker and the daughter of Kinyras. Here stands Zeus, called Zeus of Freedom and the Emperor Hadrian, benefactor to all his subjects and especially to the city of the Athenians.

[1063] Translation: Indeed from Peleus came forth the kings in Epeirus, but the sons of Telamon, the stock of Ajax is undistinguished, because he was a man who lived a private life; except Miltiades, who led the Athenians to Marathon, and Cimon, the son of Miltiades, achieved renown: but the family of Teuker continued to be the royal house in Cyprus down to the time of Evagoras. Asius, the epic poet, says that to Phocus were born Panopeus and Krisus: and to Panopeus was born Epeus, who made the wooden horse, according to Homer; and Pylades, the grandson of Krisus, whose father was Strophius, son of Krisus, and his mother was Anaxibi ,sister of Agamemnon. Such was the ancestry of the Aeacidae, as they are called, but they departed from the beginning to elsewhere.

Cf. also suggested by Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca*, 14.98.

As we have seen the theme of Greek heroes, particularly those associated with Troy, founding cities in Cyprus was popular. A final annecdote regarding Cyprus by Pausanias not only implies the generation and circulation of myths associated with Homeric themes, in this case the Trojan War, by insiders, but also confirms the significance of these Homeric associations to expressions of local identity in the Roman period. Pausanias, 10.24.3:[1064]

Κύπριοι δὲ—οἰκειοῦνται γὰρ δὴ καὶ οὗτοι Ὅμηρον—Θεμιστώ τε αὐτῷ μητέρα εἶναι τῶν τινα ἐπιχωρίων γυναικῶν λέγουσι καὶ ὑπὸ Εὔκλου προθεσπισθῆναι τὰ ἐς τὴν γένεσιν τὴν Ὁμήρου φασὶν ἐν τοῖσδε: "καὶ τότ᾽ ἐν εἰναλίῃ Κύπρῳ μέγας ἔσσετ᾽ ἀοιδός, ὅν τε Θεμιστὼ τέξει ἐπ᾽ ἀγροῦ δῖα γυναικῶν νόσφι πολυκτεάνοιο πολύκλειτον Σαλαμῖνος. Κύπρον δὲ προλιπὼν διερός θ᾽ ὑπὸ κύμασιν ἀρθείς, Ἑλλάδος εὐρυχόρου μοῦνος κακὰ πρῶτος ἀείσας ἔσσεται ἀθάνατος καὶ ἀγήραος ἤματα πάντα." ταῦτα ἡμεῖς ἀκούσαντές τε καὶ ἐπιλεξάμενοι τοὺς χρησμοὺς ἰδίᾳ δὲ οὐδένα αὐτῶν λόγον οὔτε ἐς πατρίδα οὔτε περὶ ἡλικίας Ὁμήρου γράφομεν.

In this passage, Pausanias stated that the Cypriots claimed that Homer was the son of a certain Themisto, a Salaminian. Although Pausanias himself added that he had nothing to comment on regarding this claim, it is a remarkable assertion to consider on the part of the Cypriots. Given the identity of Themisto as a Salaminian, it could be assumed that the Cypriots Pausanias spoke of implies the community of Salamis in general and that this annecdote was a tradition associated with the city. Furthermore, the declaration that Salamis

[1064] Translation taken from: Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, in six volumes, Vol. IV, Books VIII(XXII)-X, trans. W. H. S. Jones (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press; London: William Heinenmann Ltd: 1961):
But the Cyprians, who also claim Homer as their own, say that Themisto, one of their native women, was the mother of Homer, and that Euclus foretold the birth of Homer in the following verses: "And then in sea-girt Cyprus there will be a mighty singer,
Whom Themisto, lady fair, shall bear in the fields, A man of renown, far from rich Salamis.
Leaving Cyprus, tossed and wetted by the waves,
The first and only poet to sing of the woes of spacious Greece,
For ever shall he be deathless and ageless.
"These things I have heard, and I have read the oracles, but express no private opinion about either the age or date of Homer.

was the birthplace of Homer's mother is significant in light of the Second Sophistic movement. Here we have an example of a deliberate expression of Greek identity under Rome with the Salaminians emphasising their strong connections with ancient Greek traditions. Mitford noted that unlike Paphos and Kourion, the inscriptions of Hellenistic and Roman Salamis did not preserve any link, in history or tradition, with its past in the epigraphic record.[1065] Although monuments of this kind have not been excavated, the monuments from Nea Paphos and Amathous illustrate how the inscriptions were set up as part of the sanctuary in highly conspicuous locations. This could also have been possible for Salamis.

The re-foundation of Salamis.

Salamis is the only Roman *polis* that was renamed following a re-foundation. The city was devastated by a major earthquake in the fourth century AD and later rebuilt and renamed Constantia after the dynasty which enabled this refoundation to take place.[1066] The city later became an Episcopal seat. Watkin placed the re-foundation by Emperor Constantius II between AD 332-342,[1067] whereas Mitford put the date at AD 346.[1068]

4.5.3.1. The Hellenistic period.

Inscriptions invoking the gods Aphrodite,[1069] Herakles Kallinikos,[1070] Sarapis,[1071] have been discovered in Salamis or in its environs, however, it is unclear the nature of their

[1065] Mitford (1980a), 1321.
[1066] St. Malalas, *Chronographie*, 12.48; cf. Aliquot (2010), 67 and in general for the foundations of Constantius.
[1067] Watkin (1988), 329.
[1068] Mitford (1980a), 1321.
[1069] [A] *ICA* 8 (in *RDAC* 1969), 82-3, no. 10; *SEG* 25.1066; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 41. [B] Mitford (1961a), 121, no. 21; *ICA* 8 (in *RDAC* 1969), 83; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 42.
[1070] *I.Salamis*, no. 1; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 45.

worship in the Hellenistic period. There is no further epigraphic evidence to suggest the survival of these deities into the Roman period. Undated inscriptions naming Helios and Zeus have also been discovered.[1072] Zeus was worshipped during the Hellenistic period and is attested either as Zeus Soter[1073] or as Zeus Olympios.[1074] The worship of Dionysus is attested both in the Hellenistic period and Roman period.[1075]

4.5.3.2. The Roman period.

The chief deity: Zeus Olympios.

Salamis' chief deity remained Zeus Olympios into the Roman period and his worship is attested by inscriptions, coins, and archaeological remains of the city.[1076] The cult statue of the god was a familiar image and was represented on coins issued by the *koinon* of Cyprus like the image and sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia.[1077] The god is represented standing with a libation bowl in the right hand, an eagle perched on the sceptre, and was represented on the obverse side, with the portrait of a Roman Emperor on the reverse. The antiquity and renown of Zeus Olympios secured the sanctuary of the god the right of asylum along under Tiberius.

[1071] *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 56. Cf. Vermeule (1976), 77 for discussion of sculptures of Sarapis and Isis in Salamis.
[1072] Hermes: *SEG* 6.803; *SEG* 35.1470; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 198. Zeus: *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, nos. 50, 51, and 52.
[1073] *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 54.
[1074] For example, *ICA* 8 (in *RDAC* 1969), 77, no. 6; *SEG* 25.1067; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 46.
[1075] For the Hellenistic inscriptions cf. *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, nos. 83 and 95.
[1076] Cf. Mitford (1990), 2189. For the inscriptions:
[A] Tubbs (1891), 185 no. 25; *GIBM* IV 978 a, b, c; *SEG* 29.1579; *BE* 1980), no. 568); *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 21.
[B] Tubbs (1891), 190, no. 44; *IGR* III 993; *ICA* 8 (in *RDAC* 1969), 78, no. 2; Mitford (1950b), 33, footnote 3; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 48.
[C] Tubbs (1891), 176, no. 5; *IGR* III 984; *ICA* 8 (in *RDAC* 1969), 78, no. 1; cf. Mitford (1947), 227, footnotes 110 and 228; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 47.
[D] *I.Salamis*, no. 100; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 102.
[F] Tubbs (1891), 193 no. 48; *GIBM* IV 986; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, 17, no. 27; *SEG* 51.1299.
The following three inscriptions may provide evidence of Zeus Olympios in the epigraphic record:
[G] Mitford (1946), 32, no. 10; BE (1949), 205; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 46.
[H] Mitford (1950b), 89, no. 48;
[I] *CIG* II 2638; IGR III 991; *I.Salamis*, no. 92 a; Birley (1981), 237; *SEG* 31.1647; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 125.
[1077]

Furthermore, the omission of Zeus Olympios from the Cypriot oath of allegiance to Tiberius is notable and it has been suggested the god could have been included in the missing part of the inscriptions which may have headed the oath proper.[1078]

Of the customs, traditions, and character of the worship of Zeus Olympios at Salamis, very little is known. Inscriptions merely attest one notable high priest of the cult.[1079] The presence of temple slaves is recorded in a fragmentary inventory of Flavian date.[1080]

Excavations of the monumental *temenos* of Zeus Olympios have revealed that the first phase of construction of the temple took place in the late Hellenistic period. A ramp for this *temenos* was constructed during the late Republic or the reign of Augustus along with a major reconstruction of the temple during the Imperial period.[1081] The temple of Zeus Olympios commanded the vast *agora* of Salamis. It is thought that the structure of the temple was imposing and raised on a high stylobate. The temple was Hellenistic in origin and has been identified as being structured around a square *cella* with columns crowned with Corinthian columns.[1082]

Other deities.

In his survey of the Salaminian *chora*, Mitford noted that the epigraphic evidence for the worship of other deities was poor, unlike the evidence studied from the environs of Paphos and Kourion.[1083] Nevertheless, Salamis is rich in sculpture and the discovery of statues and statuettes can potentially contribute to out understanding of other deities which

[1078] Fujii (2013), 81. Grant of asylum: Mitford (1980a), 1322; Mitford (1990), 2189. Fujii (2013), 98.
[1079] *I.Salamis*, no. 100; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 102; Kantiréa (2008), 95; Yon (2009), 291; Fujii (2013) Salamis no. 6.
[1080] Mitford (1990), 2189-90. Cf. *CIG* II 2638; IGR III 991; *I.Salamis*, no. 92 a; Birley (1981), 237; *SEG* 31.1647; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 125.
[1081] Mitford (1980a), 1322; Watkin (1988), 331; Fujii (2013), 61. For the temple of Zeus in Salamis, see Argoud, Callot, et al. (1975); Yon (2009), 303-4, Figures 7, 8, and 9.
[1082] Mitford (1990), 2189.
[1083] Mitford (1990), 2190.

were incorporated into the religious landscape. On the other hand, the representation of a deity in sculpture alone does not necessarily prove that the god was worshipped. Furthermore, the discovery of statues does not necessarily illuminate how a deity was worshipped or what their identity was in the Roman period. Because of the limited and fragmentary nature of the evidence, the treatment of local religions in Salamis will be treated differently than the previous sections which have focused on Nea Paphos and Palaipaphos, Kourion, and Amathous, and the focus of the remaining chapter will be on the worship, and general impact, of the Roman Emperor and also the Jewish community of Cyprus, who seemed to be particularly associated with Salamis. Deities attested epigraphically, and in some cases represented by sculpture in the Roman period include: Artemis Paralia(?);[1084] Dionysus;[1085] the Dioskouroi(?);[1086] Hermes;[1087] Isis(?);[1088] Nemesis;[1089] Sacrifice to cattle;[1090] and Tyche.[1091]

The Roman Emperor.

In comparison to the wealth of evidence from the sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia from the advent of Roman rule, the sanctuary of Zeus Olympios - at present - does not yield many monuments to the imperial household until the mid first century AD. An inscription with a dedication to the divine Augustus Caesar and his heirs is evidence of Salamis venerating

[1084] Cf. *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, 23.
[1085] *I.Salamis*, no. 30; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 43.
[1086] Mitford (1990), 2190: cf. *I.Salamis*, no. 28.
[1087] *I.Salamis*, no. 2; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 44; Mitford (1990), 2190. Cf. also Vermeule (1976), 74, figure 4.
[1088] *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 54.
[1089] *I.Salamis*, no. 104. *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 55; Cf. Vermeule (1976), 75, figure 5 who suggests that the statue of Nemesis could indicate the presence of an urban shrine to the goddess in the city.
[1090] Mitford (1990), 2190, footnote 72: Mitford (1961a), 121, no. 22; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 40.
[1091] *I.Salamis*, no. 22; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 59.

Augustus as Zeus Caesar in the temple of Zeus Olympios.[1092] The palimpsest of this monument reveals that attention was paid to news and events in Rome and that this affected the meaning of the monument; the individual responsible for erecting the monument clearly changed the details of the dynastic succession and was aware of dynastic issues in Rome. This inscription was discovered built into the harbour walls of Salamis and so the original find spot of this monument is unknown thus making it difficult to consider how viewers of the monument would have interracted with it. Another inscription, discovered in the *agora* of Salamis, reveals that a statue of Livia dedicated to Zeus Olympios was set up by a certain someone.[1093] Other inscriptions discovered at Salamis and in its environs point to the impact of the Roman Emperors. For instance, monuments of Tiberius,[1094] Nero,[1095] and Vespasian[1096] have been discovered at the sanctuary of Zeus Olympios.

Organisation of worship.

Similar to Nea Paphos and Palaipaphos, the local elite of Salamis held a variety of prestigious religious roles associated with the worship of the Emperor.[1097] The frequency

[1092] Fujii (2013) palimpsest inscriptions Salamis no. 3a and Salamis no. 3b, Mitford (1974), 112-3. Augustus as Zeus Caesar is not unknown elsewhere, e.g. in Mytilene (*IG* 12. 2, no. 206 and no. 656).
[1093] Mitford (1980a), 1322; Mitford (1990), 2189.
[1094] *SEG* 30.1645; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 133; *AnnÉp* (1989), no. 736; *SEG* 41.1480; Fujii Salamis no. 5: a bilingual dedication or a statue.
[1095] Tubbs (1891), 184, no. 22; *GIBM* IV 982; *IGR* III 986; Mitford (1946), 212; Mitford (1947), 220-2; *BE* (1949), 217; Mitford (1980b), 278, footnote 18; *SEG* 30.1646; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 135; Kantiréa (2008), 110; Fujii (2013) Salamis no. 8: a dedication.
[1096] *SEG* 30.1647; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 138; Kantiréa (2008), 99; *AnnÉp* (2008), no. 1515; Fujii (2013) Salamis no. 10: a statue.
[1097] For an overview of the worship of the Roman Emperor and the organisation of worship at Salamis cf. Yon (2009) and Fujii (2013). The epigraphic evidence:
[A] Tubbs (1891), 195-6, no. 53; *IGR* III 994; *OGIS* II 582; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 101; Fujii (2013) Salamis no. 2.
[B] Interpreted by Mitford as a monument of Hyllos. The editors of *Salamine de Chypre* XIII and Fujii are more careful in their interpretations: *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 131; Mitford (1980b), 278, and footnote 14. *CIG* II 2630; *IGR* III 997; Mitford (1947), 222-5, no. 9; *BE* (1949), 217; *I.Salamis*, 130, no. 5; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 131; Kantiréa (2008), 93-5; *AnnEp* (2008), no. 1514; Fujii (2013) Salamis nos. 3a and 3b.
[C] Mitford (1980b), 278, and footnote 16. For the inscription: *I.Salamis*, no. 100; Mitford (1980b), 278, footnote 16; *SEG* 30.1641; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 102; Fujii (2013) Salamis no. 6.

with which the office of high priest of Cyprus appears in Salamis prompted Fujii to interpret the office as peculiar to the city and that it was independent of the provincial priesthood of *archiereus* 'of the island' which is attested in two monuments, one from Kition and one from Palaipaphos.[1098] Much like the surviving evidence for the worship of the Emperor at Nea Paphos, Palaipaphos, and Kourion, there is no indication that the Roman Emperors were worshipped on a separate sacred site or in a temple separate from Zeus Olympios or as *theos synnaos* alongside the chief deity of the city.[1099]

On the other hand, inscriptions discovered in Salamis illustrate the impact of the Roman Emperor whether he was invoked as a deity or a mortal. For example, statue bases have been discovered in or near the monumental *agora* (three in total),[1100] *gymnasium* (three in total),[1101] and the theatre (six in total).[1102] In addition to the many inscriptions discovered in and around Salamis, statuary identified as representing the Roman Emperors has also been discovered in the *polis*, indicating his presence and impact whether he was celebrated and depicted as mortal or with symbolism that alluded to his divinity. For example, a bronze head

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[D] Mitford (1980b), 279, footnote 28; *SEG* 30.1647; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 138; Kantiréa (2008), 99; *AnnÉp* (2008), no. 1515; Fujii (2013) Salamis no. 10.
[E] This study, chapter three, section **3.3.2**. **Salamis Inscription** (*Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 106).
[F] *LBW* III 2759; *IGR* III 995; Mitford (1950b), 5, a; *I.Salamis*, 132, a; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 108; Kantiréa (2008), 108, no. 104; Fujii (2013) Salamis no. 12.
[G] Beaudouin and Pottier (1879a), 173, no. 24; *IGR* III 961; Hogarth (1889), 110-1, no. 33; Mitford (1950b), 75, footnote 1; Mitford (1980b), 279, footnote 27; *SEG* 30.1644; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 127; Kantiréa (2008), 104, no. 85; Fujii (2013) Salamis no. 14.
[1098] Fujii (2013), 114 and listed in listed in Fujii (2013) as: Salamis nos. 2, 10, 11; Kition no. 4; Paphos Vetus no. 9.
[1099] Fujii (2013), 65-6. Cf. also Yon (2009).
[1100] Listed in Fujii (2013) as: Salamis no. 1 - statue of Livia; Salamis no. 4 - statue of Tiberius; Salamis no. 18 - a dedication to Hadrian.
[1101] Listed in Fujii (2013) as: Salamis no.2 - statue of Hyllos *archierus* of of Cyprus for the divine Caesar, Salamis no. 9 - statue of Nero; Salamis no. 19 - statue of Hadrian.
[1102] Listed in Fujii (2013) as: Salamis no. 6 - statue of Herakleides high priest of Zeus Olympios and the Emperors; Salamis no. 11 - statue of Servius Sulpicius Pankles Veranianus; Salamis no. 16 - dedication to Hadrian; Salamis no. 17 - dedication to Hadrian; Salamis no. 20 - statue of Commodus; Salamis no. 21 - statue of Commodus; Salamis no. 22 - statue of Julia Domna. For the theatre see Sear (2006), 383.

of Claudius was discovered at the temple of Zeus in Salamis;[1103] a fragmentary bronze head discovered in Salamis possibly represents a Julio-Claudian Emperor;[1104] and a marble cuirassed statue, representing Vespasian or Titus, was discovered in the theatre of Salamis.[1105] According to Fujii, the imagery depicted on the Emperor's triumphal costume 'represented to the Cypriots the most important constituent of imperial power, the military component.'[1106] The statue base set up in honour of Servius Sulpicius Pankles attests that he set up imperial statues in the *gymnasium*.[1107] The discovery, and record, of imperial statues that were set up in prolific, communal spaces of the *polis* sheds some light on how the image of the emperor in a public space would have been visible to a community gathered in public spaces and would have contributed to the collective experience of those attending a communal event, such as a festival.[1108] The theatre of Salamis can also be considered a useful case study for the accommodated of portrait statuary of Greek deities (Dionysos and Apollo with the Muses) and Roman Emperors. These would have been positioned on the *scaenae frons* of the theatre for all the audience to see.[1109] Additionally, it is likely that the statues of Servius Sulpicius Pankles Veranianus, who is recorded as building, or rebuilding the theatre, were incorporated into the fabric of the theatre.[1110] Statuary found amongst the ruins of the

[1103] For a complete overview of statues and monumets set up to the Roman Emperor as evidenced by inscriptions cf. Fujii (2013), Appendix, Table 2.
[1104] Fujii (2013), 39-40: probably Claudius - or Germanicus or Nero Drusus? Cf. Yon (2009), 292–94).
[1105] Fujii (2013), 40-1: Karageorghis (1964), 40-1, no. 48; Vermeule (1976), 86-7. Two further (fragmentary) cuirassed statues were excavated at the theatre of Salamis: Karageorghis (1964), 41-2, no. 49 - representing Trajan or Hadrian; Karageorghis (1964), 42, no. 50 - representing Trajan or Hadrian. Cf. also Karageorghis and Vermeule (1966), 29, no. 99 and no. 100.
[1106] Fujii (2013), 41.
[1107] Fujii (2013), 68.
[1108] Compare with the evidence for gilded statues set up in the renovated theatre at Nea Paphos. This study, chapter four, section **4.2.3.2**. **Nea Paphos Inscription** (Fujii (2013) Paphos Nova no. 3).
[1109] Fujii (2013), 74.
[1110] Fujii (2013), 74.

temple of Salamis include the cuirassed statues of unidentified emperors;[1111] statues of Apollo;[1112] statues of Mnemosyne and the Muses;[1113] and statuary of Dionysos.[1114]

Judaism.

It is thought that Jews settled in Cyprus from the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, who reigned between 309-246 BC.[1115] Although this hypothesis places the initial settlement of Jews in Cyprus to the end of the fourth to the mid third century BC, epigraphically, as a community, they do not appear until much later.[1116] Despite the limited material evidence for communities of Jews living in Cyprus during the Hellenistic period, Josephus wrote that there was a flourishing Jewish community in Cyprus in the early empire.[1117]

Although evidence for the Jewish communities of Cyprus can be detected across the island, it seems appropriate to discuss the Jewish population of Roman Cyprus in this study Salamis for several reasons.[1118]

Firstly, the history of Jewish communities on Cyprus in the literary sources seem to focus attention on Salamis, where it is thought that a considerable population grew. For example, *Acts of the Apostles*, 13.5 records that St Barnabas and Paul landed at Salamis and there proclaimed the word of God in the synagogues of the Jews.

Secondly, epigraphic evidence provides examples of Jewish customs and practices that were integrated in the region. For instance, the horoscope discovered from Tremithous

[1111] Karageorghis (1964), nos. 48, 49, 50.
[1112] Karageorghis (1964), nos. 51, 54.
[1113] Karageorghis (1964), nos. 52, 53, 58.
[1114] Karageorghis and Vermeule (1966), nos. 73, 77.
[1115] Hill (1940), 241, footnote 4; Mitford (1980a), 1380; Mitford (1990), 2204, and footnote 144.
[1116] Hellenistic inscriptions which possibly attest Jews in Cyprus:
[A] At Kourion: Mitford (1980a), 1380; (1990), 2204: *I.Kourion*, no. 70.
[B] At Amathous: Mitford (1980a), 1380; (1990), 2204 and footnote 146: *ICA* 7 (in *RDAC* 1968), 77, no. 8.
[1117] Josephus, *Antiquitates Iudaicae*, 13.284.
[1118] For the study of Jewish community in Cyprus: Mitford (1950a), 110-6; (1980a), 1380-1381, (1990), 2204-8. Potter (2000) 809-11, Cf. also Stern (2010).

reveals the use of a Jewish calendar in Cyprus alongside a Roman and an Egyptian one.[1119] For Mitford, the location of Tremithous denoted that the individual who set up the inscription was Jewish and that Salamis was 'the centre of his community.'[1120]

Thirdly, Salamis was devastated by arguably one of the most well documented episodes of unrest in Roman Cyprus, the Empire-wide Jewish revolt in AD 115/6. Literary evidence tells us that the Jewish community of Cyprus was numerous enough to lay the city of Salamis in ruins during this revolt.[1121] Cassius Dio wrote in general that as many as 240,000 Cypriots died during this conflict.[1122] Trajan despatched a small Roman army, the *Legio VII Claudia*, to Cyprus to quash the revolt, re-conquer the island, and restore peace. Furthermore, Jews were allegedly driven out of Cyprus and thereafter not allowed to set foot on it under pain of death. Although this anecdote is thought to be greatly exaggerated, Mitford stated that Jews who 'survived the insurrection remained on the island furtively and in sufferance'.[1123] For Mitford the total absence of Jewish symbols in Cyprus, more particularly in the funerary context was an indication of their almost underground existence on the island following the revolt. While Mitford's theory of the underground existence of Jews following their banishment from the island is logical, there is in fact little evidence to support this idea. It is dangerous to argue from silence and the evidence that Mitford did draw upon has been proven to be too ambiguous to draw any firm conclusions.

[1119] Cf. This study, chapter four, section **4.1.1**.
[1120] Mitford (1961a), 119.
[1121] Mitford (1980a), 1380: following the unrest two monuments from Salamis reveal the city's gratitude towards Hadrian for restoring many of its structures. Cf. [A] Salamis: *I.Salamis*, no. 92; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 140; Kantiréa (2008), 103, no. 84; *AnnÉp* (2008), no. 1515; Fujii (2013) Salamis no. 16. [B] *I.Salamis* no. 13; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 143; Fujii (2013) Salamis no. 19.
[1122] Cassius Dio, 68.31. Cf. also Eusebius, *Historiae Ecclesiastica*, 4.2.
[1123] Mitford (1990), 2205, and footnote 157.

For example, Mitford interpreted an inscription from Salamis, possibly of Severan date, as proof of the prohibition of a *statio*, a club house for craftsmen of a community.[1124] For Mitford, the appearance of *statio* as στατιῶνας was a reference to a Jewish clubhouse in Salamis. The meaning of *statio* was interpreted by the editors of *Salamine de Chypre* XIII as a reference to a clubhouse in general.[1125] Furthermore, Mitford's hypothesis that the *defixiones* of Amathous were the work of Jewish *magoi* is not secure. While it may have been tempting to associate the underground existence of Jews of Cyprus following the ban by Trajan with the secretive nature of the performance of magic, this idea is unsupported. This chapter has shown that although the *defixiones* display some Jewish qualities, other outside factors influenced their content. Furthermore, recent discussion around the identity of the practitioners at Amathous moves away from associating them with Jews practicing magic.[1126]

As noted above few Hellenistic inscriptions exists, and the majority of the remaining material artefacts have been dated from the fourth century AD onwards.[1127] Therefore, it seems that one inscription from Salamis firmly attests a Jewish name in the third century AD.[1128] The name Ἀνανία is thought to be a typically Jewish name and is attested in a dedication or an epitaph.[1129] Little can be undertood from this monument because of its fragmentary state.

In sum, it is difficult to gain a full insight into the Jewish communities of Roman Cyprus, where they resided, their patterns of worship, their identity and experience of Roman

[1124] Mitford (1990), 2205, and footnote 152: *I.Salamis*, no. 91: Also in Mitford (1980a), 1380. *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 24.
[1125] *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, 16-7.
[1126] Cf. This study, this chapter, section **4.4.3.2.**
[1127] For instance [A] *LBW* III 2776. Cf. Mitford (1980a), 1380, footnote 515; Mitford (1990), 2205, and footnote 153: an inscription naming a Ῥαββῆ, a rabbi - Atticus - who dedicated a marble column, in the fourth- century possibly for a synagogue at Lapethus. [B] Cf. also Mitford (1990), 2205, footnotes 154 and 5.
[1128] Mitford (1950a), 110-6, no. 3; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 200.
[1129] *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 200, line three.

rule, and most importantly their integration in Cypriot culture and society. Evidence for their activities is extremely fragmentary and fall outside the framework of this study.

4.5.4. Conclusions.

Recent re-appraisal of the use of calendars in Salamis and and the appearance of the title *metropolis* has highlighted the rivalry of the city with Nea Paphos, but has moved away from traditional picture which has implied a too simple of east vs west identity of the Roman *poleis*. Despite being renowned as the city which was financially exploited following the annexation of the island and as reluctant to welcome Roman rule, this evidence presented in this chapter has revealed that identity and experience of Roman Salamis is complex. It is clear that the prior, and impressionistic, presentations of Salamis' culture, society, and interaction with other Roman *poleis* is no longer adequate. It must be reiterated though that study of the evidence from Salamis is problematic because of the limitations surrounding access to previously excavated material, as mentioned above.

While civic rivalry existed between Salamis and Nea Paphos, and with other Cypriot *poleis*, the myths associated with Salamis and the evidence for the local religions worshipped in the Roman period suggest that many aspects of the city's identity and experience under Rome were similar to those of Nea Paphos.

Salamis was a foundation of the Greek hero Teuker and ths was not conflated or amalgamated with any other myths. Similar to the foundation of Nea Paphos and Palaipaphos, the figure of Teuker was important to the Kings of Salamis and they claimed their descent from him to legitimate their power and status. However, in the Roman period it appears that the myths of Teuker were not revived in any way and it seems that they did not shape the religious landscape of the city. Nevertheless, the annecdotes regarding Teuker

provided by Pausanias suggest that the founder of the city married a daughter of Kinyras, thus showing that the myths of Kinyras were as far reaching as Salamis and very tenuously connected the foundation of the city with that of Nea Paphos and Palaipaphos. Also significance to the identity of Roman Salamis is another anecdote provided by Pausanias. He wrote of the Cypriot legend that Homer's mother, Themisto, was born in Salamis. Such a claim is suggestive of a myth that was locally generated, the use of which enables us to imagine how the city of Salamis perceived itself under Rome and wished to be perceived by others. In this instance, the city was advertised the birthplace of Homer, one of the most prolific poets of antiquity. The circulation of this anecdote, as recorded by Pausanias, further emphases what has already been witnessed by the use of myths in the other *poleis* examined in this study. Myths were used by insiders and outsiders to elevate the status of a *polis* and assert a particular identity or status across the island and also within the wider region of the Eastern Mediterranean.

The economic superiority of Roman Salamis over the other *poleis* of Cyprus has long been recognised. The surviving structures of the city, along with inscriptions which reveal the generous benefactions of its local elite which included an amphitheatre, also indicate the magnificence of the city which appeared to flourish under Roman rule. In general, the discovery of statues and inscriptions from Salamis give us an unparalleled insight into the integration of the Emperors in the city in public spaces. Furthermore, monuments for Augustus, Livia, the heirs of Augustus, and so on, reveal local positive reaction to Roman rule. Their presence would have contributed to collective experience and collective identity of the *polis* and its inhabitants. This evidence, along with the monument of Servius Sulpicius Pankles Veranianus discussed in chapter three, is indicative of strong 'Roman' elements that made up Salamis' identity and experience. Finally, the study of Judaism in this particular

section of the chapter has been worthwhile to address, and in some ways deconstruct, many assumptions regarding the Jewish community of Roman Cyprus. Overall it has been shown that little can be understood of Jewish identity in Roman Cyprus and the experience of Jews during Roman rule. The nature of the evidence is fragmentary and requires careful consideration.

In sum, evidence for the use of myth and of the local religions of Roman Salamis reveals a similar situation to the other *poleis* presented in this study. While the foundation myth of Salamis does not appear to have been manipulated in any way in the material record during the Roman period, the myths of Teuker and of Homer were integral to the identity of the city, which was reflected as ancient and 'Greek' by the use of these myths. The *polis* and *chora* reveal the worship of a variety of local deities along with the integration of the worship of the Roman Emperor. Again, the supremacy of Zeus Olympios during the Roman period was not compromised. Unlike the chief deities of Nea Paphos, Kourion, and Amathous, little can be said of the origins of his identity and worship at Salamis. At this stage, the survey of the religions of the *polis* and its environs presented in this chapter is brief and further consideration of the epigraphic evidence and statuary of the *polis* is necessary. Overall, it appears that the civic identity of Roman Salamis was complex and comprised of multiple elements that could be considered as 'Roman' and 'Greek'.

Chapter Five. Island Identity Beyond Cyprus.

5.1. Introduction.

This final chapter will now consider Cyprus' 'island identity' as an extension of collective identity which was explored in the previous chapter. An understanding of internal (insider) and external (outsider) construction and maintenance of identity remains crucial to this study. Before this investigation gets under way, the concept of island identity, and even national identity, must be addressed. In his studies, Mitford maintained that after the *Constitutio Antoniniana* (AD 212) Cypriots were disenchanted with Roman citizenship and chose no longer to chase the rewards that Rome had to offer. Instead, they concentrated on embellishing their own cities and as a result 'a gentle nationalism grew'.[1130] There are two points to consider here.

Firstly, as demonstrated by chapter three which re-examined the impact of Roman *civitas* on Cyprus, epigraphic evidence from across the island, particularly Paphos and Salamis, illustrates the opposite of Mitford's hypothesis. Inscriptions reveal that through the celebration of priesthoods and magistracies, significant to a *polis* or island-wide, that the local elite enhanced the status of their *poleis* from the advent of Roman rule. Furthermore, prominent elites, and their families, provided for, and invested financially in embellishing, their home *poleis* long before AD 212. The inscriptions of Servius Sulpicius Pankles Veranianus of Salamis and the *Ummidii* of Paphos clearly demonstrate this.[1131]

The second aspect of Mitford's analysis to comment on is the phrase 'gentle nationalism'. Mitford did not clarify or explain his use of the concept of nationalism to explain his interpretations of local, cultural choices and reaction to Roman rule. In this

[1130] Mitford (1980a),1370-2; Mitford (1980b), 280.
[1131] Cf. this study, chapter three, sections **3.3.1**. and **3.2.2**.

instance, the use of 'gentle nationalism' could be interpreted as simply reflecting the attitudes and rhetoric of the time in which he conducted his studies. It has been previously mentioned that many of Mitford's important articles were published posthumously in the 1980s and 1990s, studies which were in fact written decades earlier and perhaps left unrevised.[1132] Furthermore, Mitford's own personal background is significant; he served in the Second World War and was promoted to the rank of Major.[1133] It is no surprise then that the vocabulary of nationalism was employed by him to express collective identity as national identity in antiquity. Given that the phrase does not appear in any other of Mitford's academic studies, and also the brevity with which the term is applied, and passed over, it appears then that the application of the idea of nationalism to the studies of Roman Cyprus was merely incidental. Nevertheless, the concept of nationalism is a fairly modern phenomenon and in recent years it has emerged as popular, and instructive, theme to pursue in studies of the ancient world.[1134] Increasingly, scholars have promoted the need to be open to exploring modern ideas such as nationalism to explore the ancient world.[1135] That said, the usual caveats surrounding mapping modern, social definitions onto ancient ones should always be considered.

This chapter will examine monuments set up by individuals and collective groups outside the island thus enabling us to explore whether Cypriots abroad expressed a particular belonging to the island as their homeland and whether a particular 'island identity' was projected. Analysis of material from outside the island will also provide comparative material for evidence that has already been discussed regarding the construction and presentation of identity by individuals and collective groups within the island. The study of inscriptions so

[1132] Mitford (1980a); (1980b); (1990).
[1133] Maier (1981), 435-6.
[1134] Cf. Smith (1999); Özkirimli (2010) for essential reading; and Hirschi (2012).
[1135] For example, Dench (2010).

far has shown that some individuals and groups wished to express their sense of belonging to a wider community that extended beyond their personal connections, and even their *polis*. For instance, the appearance of the words τῶν κατὰ Κύπρον and τῆς νήσου in inscriptions reflects an individual or community's understanding of their position in the island.[1136] Also the appearance of the words τὴν ἐπαρχείαν and even πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα demonstrate this.[1137] The inclusion of vocabulary such as this in a monument not only serves to emphasise the status of an individual and the prestige that they brought to their city, but it also emphasised the sense of competition among cities and demonstrated that inhabitants of cities were aware of the internal connectivity of the island. The question remains, is the concept of nationalism sufficient enough to describe the phenomenon of collective identity? In order to answer this question, the focus of this chapter is going to be the negotiation of individual and collective identity in inscriptions set up outside Cyprus. The study of particular groups will be straightforward because of the nature of the evidence.

Mitford and Bekker-Nielson both noted that Rome did not exploit Cypriot manpower which is disappointing as this would have made for an interesting study of Cypriot identity beyond the island.[1138] There appears to be one instance of a unit from Cyprus, the *Cohors*

[1136] It is worth noting that from Ptolemaic rule the administration of the island emphasised the position of Cyprus and its role as an important hub of the Ptolemaic empire. This was achieved through the commemoration of high ranking officials, which displayed the military and naval power of the island. The use of the word νήσου was prolific in Ptolemaic monuments and the connectivity of the island to other territories was clear to see from the monuments of the different troops and communities stationed on the island. For example, at the sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia, Palaipaphos: Mitford (1961b), nos. 40, 51, 58, 71, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 81, 83, 84, 87, 91, 92, and 107. Mitford (1961b), nos. 39, 44, 52, 60, 69, 72, 73, 74, 80, 88, 94, 96, 102, and 103 contain the word but it is restored. In the Roman period, the appearance of the word νήσου appears exclusively in a religious context as it was often inscribed in the monuments of high priests awarded the distinctive position of leader of a local cult or of the worship of the Emperor for the whole island. For example, this study, chapter four, section 4.2.3.2. **Palaipaphos Inscription** (Mitford (1960), 75-9). Cf. also [A] *LBW* III 2734; *IGR* III 980; *ICA* 23 (in *RDAC* 1984), 257-8, no. 1; *SEG* 34.1416; *I.Kition*, no. 2042; Fujii (2013) Kition no. 3. [B] *CIG* II 2633; *IGR* III 981); *I.Kition*, no. 2037. [C] restored: *ICA* 16 (in *RDAC* 1977), 218, no. 7; *SEG* 27.967.

[1137] Cf. This study, chapter four, section **4.2.3.2**. **Palaipaphos Inscription** (*I.Paphos*, no. 182).

[1138] Mitford (1980a), 1345-7; Bekker-Nielsen (2002).

Cypria, serving in Dacia.[1139] The inscription which records the manumission of the *Cohors Cypria* following their service to the Roman army reveals nothing of their identity as being collective. Furthermore, funerary monuments of Cypriot soldiers have not been discovered. Had they been so, it would potentially have been an interesting way in which to explore individual and collective identity outside Cyprus. Therefore, the first section of this chapter will focus on the monuments set up by individuals outside the island. The second half of this investigation will instead examine the evidence for the interaction of Cypriot *poleis* outside Roman Cyprus. The discussion will then move on to consider the activities of the *koinon* of Cyprus, beginning with an overview of the *koinon's* existence during the Roman period and then moving on to evidence for their presence across and outside the island. Analysis of the evidence will not only consider the construction of individual and collective identity, but also whether individuals and groups expressed unison, or a sense of belonging, to a specific Cypriot identity in their monuments. If it is evident that a sense of belonging was expressed to the island as a whole by an individual or a group this chapter will consider how this was expressed and whether it can be interpreted it as 'national identity'. How this evidence compares with previously discussed material discovered within the island will also be an essential aspect of this investigation.

5.2. Individual, Cypriot identity beyond Cyprus.

Several inscriptions record the names of individuals from Roman Cyprus outside the island. One monument, in Latin, was set up by a certain Apollonius to a Roman proconsul in Rome; the remaining inscriptions, set up in Greek, are from Delphi, Athens, Sparta, Anazarbos, Paros, Oropos, Rome, and Messina in Sicily. Four inscriptions from

[1139] Bekker-Nielsen (2002).

Delphi comprise a group of commemorative monuments which reveal the conferral of honours upon individuals from Roman Cyprus; in comparison, the remaining monuments from across the Empire are funerary, save for the inscription set up by Apollodorus in Rome. Let us begin with the monuments from Delphi which form the largest group of monuments from one location. All of the monuments have been dated to the second century AD. Only one will be considered in detail here.[1140]

Delphi Inscription (*Fouilles des Delphes*, III, Épigraphie, 3,248):[1141]

θεός. τύχα ἀγαθ[ά].
Φάβιον Φάλερνον Πά-
φιον Δελφοὶ Δελφὸ[ν]
ἐποίησαν καὶ τὰ ἄλ-
λα πάντα ἔδωκαν
ὅσα τοῖς καλοῖς καὶ
ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι δί-
δοται. ἄρχοντος Τιβ.
Ἰουλίου Ἀσσίδου, βο[υ]-
λευόντων Τιβ. Ἰου-
λίου Πρυτάνεως κα[ὶ]
Διονυσίου τοῦ Διονυ-
[σίου].

Translation:

The God, good fortune.
Fabius Falernos (the) Paphian
the Delphians have made him a Delphian
and given all other things
that are usually given to good and honourable
men. In the magistracy of Tib(erius)
son of Iulius Assis, when
Tib(erius) Prutanes son of Iulius and son of Dionysus
son of Dionysus were councillors.

[1140] The remaining three monuments: *Fouilles des Delphes*, III, Épigraphie, 4,444; *Fouilles des Delphes*, III, Épigraphie, 4, 94; *Fouilles des Delphes*, III, Épigraphie, 1, 547.
[1141] Cf. Pouilloux (1976), no 20.

This monument dated the reign of Antoninus Pius or Marcus Aurelius, displays the use of language which is fairly typical of the remaining three monuments which names honours granted to individuals from Cyprus. In this monument, it is stated that Fabius Falernos was granted 'all other things that are usually given to good and honourable men' in lines four to eight. This sentiment is echoed in two other monuments from Delphi concerning Cypriots. For instance, Pyrrus, a Salaminian, and his descendents were granted the right to consult the oracle of Apollo, the treaty of friendship, the privilege of front seats at the games, and immunity from public service.[1142] These honours imply the residency of these individuals and their descendents at Delphi, but it is interesting that all individuals named in monuments from Delphi are identified as originating from their home city as opposed to the island of Cyprus as a whole. The commemoration of two of these individuals as an athlete and a philosopher is also noteworthy;[1143] the involvement of Cypriots in regional contests is not surprising and could be considered as reflective of the popularity of the Delphic Oracle and the Sanctuary of Apollo. The evidence for Cypriots at Delphi from the Archaic to Hellenistic period far outweighs the evidence from the Roman period, though this may be ascribed to accidents of survival rather than a trend that might suggest a dramatic decline in the interests or motivations of Cypriots to travel to Delphi.[1144] Because of the paucity of the evidence from the Roman period, and its limitation to the second century only, it is difficult to analyse.

The next significant group of inscriptions concerning individuals from Cyprus come from Athens. The four inscriptions are very different in style and content to the monuments

[1142] *Fouilles des Delphes*, III, Épigraphie, 4,444, lines six to eight. See also *Fouilles des Delphes*, III, Épigraphie, 4, 94, lines seven to eight.
[1143] *Fouilles des Delphes*, III, Épigraphie, 1,547 provides a catalogue of victories of Publius Aelius Aelianus of Salamis; *Fouilles des Delphes*, III, Épigraphie, 4,94 commemorates a Platonic philosopher.
[1144] Pouilloux (1976), 165, nos. 1-16.

from Delphi; they are much shorter in length, are all funerary, and date from the first to the second centuries AD. For instance:

Athens Inscription (*IG* II^2 10049):[1145]

Στασικράτεια
Σώτου
Παφία.

Translation:

Stasikrateias
daughter of Sotes
Paphian.

The four funerary inscriptions discovered at Athens do not provide enough evidence to allow us to explore the activities of Cypriots in Athens, or even to discuss the settlement of Cypriots there in general. Nevertheless, the three inscriptions name seven individuals, identifying them as Paphian,[1146] Salaminian,[1147] and Kitian.[1148] Similar to the monuments discovered at Delphi, it appears that naming a *polis* rather than naming a country as one's place of origin was of more importance to the construction of identity in funerary monuments outside the island. It is also significant that the individuals are identified by their lineage too. Evidence of Cypriots in Athens dating to the Roman period differs dramatically in number to the evidence available from the Classical and Hellenistic periods. From these periods epigraphic evidence reveals the activities of individuals from Kition,[1149] Kourion,[1150]

[1145] Osborne and Byrne (1996), nos. 5970 and 5972.
[1146] [A] **Athens Inscription** (*IG* II^2 10049) cited above. [B] *IG* II^2 10050; Osborne and Byrne (1996), number 5971.
[1147] *IG* II^2 10216; Osborne and Byrne (1996), nos. 6508 and 6515.
[1148] *SEG* 14.205; Osborne and Byrne (1996), nos. 2882 and 2885.
[1149] Osborne and Byrne (1996), nos. 2879-2894: fourteen individuals in total.
[1150] Osborne and Byrne (1996), nos. 3017-8: two individuals in total.

Paphos,[1151] Salamis,[1152] Soloi,[1153] and even simply from Cyprus.[1154] It is difficult to account for the discrepancy in numbers between these periods other than to suggest that material from the Roman period simply did not survive as well.

Other funerary monuments of Cypriots discovered across the Roman Empire are varied in date and location and include monuments to: Demetrios, an athlete from Salamis, dated to the reign of the Severans;[1155] Tiberius Claudius Protogenes, a flautist from Salamis who died in Sparta, undated to assigned to the 'Roman period';[1156] Zosarin of Paphos, discovered in Paros, of unknown date;[1157] an individual, from Chytroi, discovered at Oropos, tentatively dated to the second century AD;[1158] Artemis, also called Sidonia of Cyprus, who made a dedication to Nymph Furrina discovered in Rome and of an unknown date;[1159] to a Paphian Gnaeus Claudius to Pasikrates his step-son, dated between the first to third century AD, discovered at Rome;[1160] a Cypriot flautist called Euphemos, date uncertain, from Rome, San Sebastiano;[1161] and finally a comedian from Paphos called Paphianos, of uncertain date, discovered in Messina, Sicily.[1162]

Finally, in comparison to the commemorative and funerary monuments set up in honour of Cypriots abroad, is a monument from Rome which records a Cypriot setting up a monument to a proconsul.

[1151] Osborne and Byrne (1996), nos. 5966-9: four individuals in total and no. 5971 of uncertain date.
[1152] Osborne and Byrne (1996), nos. 6505-7, 6509-14, 6516-8: twelve individuals in total.
[1153] Osborne and Byrne (1996), nos. 6955-7: three individuals in total.
[1154] Osborne and Byrne (1996), nos. 3109-15: seven individuals in total.
[1155] *SEG* 12.512; Nicolaou (1986), 433.
[1156] *IG* V 1.758; Nicolaou (1986), 434.
[1157] *IG* XII 5.(1).437; Nicolaou (1986), 434.
[1158] *IG* VII 398; Nicolaou (1986), 434.
[1159] *IGR* I 1387; Nicolaou (1986), 434.
[1160] Morretti (1961), 73, no. 10; *BE* (1962), no. 380; Nicolaou (1986), 434.
[1161] *IG* XIV no. 937; *Epig.* (1942-23), no. 116; Pouilloux (1976), 163; Nicolaou (1986), 434.
[1162] Cf. Nicolaou (1986), 434; Pouilloux (1976), 163.

Rome Inscription (*CIL* 6.1440):[1163]

l. Laberio L.F Aem. IV...
*c*occeio Lepido proco*s*.,
praet., tr. pl., qvaest., leg. *propr*.
Asiae, Leg. Propr. Africae, Leg.
misso ad principem, trib mil. *leg*. 5.
xxii primig., ¯xvir stlit. *iud*.
Apollonius Limen*archa*
Cypri.

Translation:

To Laberius Cocceius Lepidus son of L(ucius) of the voting-tribe *Aemilia*. four? Proco(nsul), Praet(or), Tr(ibune of the) Pl(ebs), Quaest(or), Leg(atus) Propr(aetore) of Asia, Leg(atus) Propr(aetore) of Africa, Leg(atus) sent to the Princeps, military tribune of the twenty-second legion Primigenia Trib(unus) Mil(itum) Leg(ionis) twenty-two
Primig(enus), Decemvir Stlit(ibus) Iud(icandis). Apollonius, harbour-guardian
of Cyprus (set up this monument).

This plaque was discovered in Rome and has been dated to the reign of Trajan. It records the *cursus honorum* of Laberius Cocceius Lepidus, a proconsul of Roman Cyprus, and was set up by a *limenarcha*, a harbour-master, named as Apollonius.[1164] The identity of Apollonius is defined by his administrative position in the island and suggests that he was an individual not only of very high standing (as he was apparently responsible for the harbours in Cyprus), but also of considerable wealth if he was able to afford setting up a monument to a Roman official outside the island. The fragmentary nature of this monument makes it unclear whether he was a Roman citizen or not. The motivation for this monument was undoubtedly driven by a desire to maintain favour with an official of Rome with whom he may have curried favour during his post as proconsul of the island. The details of this monument can be analysed and compared with the two monuments set up to the proconsul Titus Clodius Eprius Marcellus firstly by Aristokles at Nea Paphos, Cyprus, and secondly by

[1163] Cf. *I.Kourion*, 208-9.
[1164] For the proconsul see this study, chapter two proconsul no. 18. Cf. also chapter four, section **4.3.3.2**.
Kourion Inscription (*I.Kourion*, no. 108).

the *koinon* at Capua.[1165] Similar to the monuments to Titus Clodius Eprius Marcellus, the format of the *cursus honorum* as a means to flatter the individual being honoured is notable. But the similarities end there. Like the monument set up to Titus Clodius Eprius Marcellus by the *koinon* at Capua, it is obvious that Apollonius used Latin in the text of his monument because it was set up in the western part of the Roman Empire, in this case at Rome. Most interestingly, the expression of individual identity is markedly different in the monuments set up by Apollonius and Aristokles. While Apollonius' identity is defined by his administrative position in Cyprus, Aristokles' is defined by his lineage; in his monument he is identified as 'Aristokles, son of Aristokles'. Clearly, the expression of identity by stating one's lineage would have been redundant information to include in a monument set up in a foreign community and would have carried little meaning.

5.3. *Polis* identity beyond Cyprus.

Two monuments recording the activities of Roman Cypriot *poleis* outside the island have been discovered; one at Delphi and another at Tyre.[1166] For the purpose of this discussion, only the monument from Tyre will be discussed in full.

Tyre Inscription (*I.Kition*, no. 176):

[ΚΙΤΙ ?]ΕΩΝ τῆς
ἱερᾶς καὶ ἀσύ-
λου καὶ αὐτο-
νόμου καὶ
ναυαρχίδος 5.
Τύρον τὴν
καὶ ἑαυτῆς
μητρόπολιν

[1165] Cf. This study, chapter two, section **2.4.4**. **Nea Paphos Inscription** (*I.Paphos*, no. 238). The monument set up by the *koinon* will be discussed shortly.
[1166] *Fouilles des Delphes*, III, Épigraphie, 1, 547; the monument from Tyre will be discussed below.

Translation:

[...of the city of Kit]ion
the sacred
and inviolable
and autonomous
and *navarchius*,
Tyre, also their
metropolis.

This inscription was discovered along a colonnade that runs through the north east and south west of the city of Tyre; in the same vicinity a dedication to the city of Tyre by the inhabitants of Lepcis Magna was discovered.[1167] It was accompanied by a statue that has been interpreted as a personification of the city of Tyre.[1168] Although fragmentary, the identity of the city named in line one has been tentatively restored as Kition.[1169] The maritime character of both cities, their proximity to one another, and the foundation of Kition (along with its distinctive Phoenician culture) justifies the restoration.[1170] The inscription tells us that an outsider (in this case a city) set up the monument to express a sense of connectivity and shared identity with Tyre; the text explicitly names Tyre as 'its [Kition's] *metropolis*'. The dating of this monument, to the end of the second century AD, is of great significance too and it could be argued that the motivations of the monument are reflective of conscious expressions of identity during the Second Sophistic. A Hellenistic inscription which records the donations of Cypriot cities to Argos was briefly discussed in chapter four.[1171] The donation made by Kourion was significant in size, almost equalling those of Salamis and

[1167] *I.Kition*, 140: the dedication by Lepcis Magna used Greek and Latine and was also accompanied by an allegorical statue of the city of Tyre. *I.Kition*, does not make it clear whether the inscription was inscribed on a plaque or a statue base.
[1168] *I.Kition*, 140-1.
[1169] *I.Kition*, 140-1.
[1170] *I.Kition*, 140-1.
[1171] Aupert (1982b).

Paphos and surpassing other cities.[1172] Aupert suggested that Kourion sent such a large donation to express its connection with Argos, as Kourion was famed as an Argive foundation. The motivations behind the donation, and the setting up of the monument in Argos, provides important comparative evidence for a monument set up by the city of Kition at Tyre in the Roman period.

5.4. The *koinon* of Cyprus.

5.4.1. Foundation of the *koinon*.[1173]

The *koinon* of Cyprus was an important association and was formed under Ptolemaic rule. The exact date for the establishment of the *koinon* and the way in which it was organised in the Hellenistic period is unclear, but evidence from the second century BC onwards reveals the role and activities of the institution.[1174] The *koinon* was made up of representatives of the Cypriot *poleis*, but how they were appointed or elected is unclear. It is also generally believed that the seat of the *koinon* was Palaipaphos or Nea Paphos as this was the provincial capital during Ptolemaic rule, and later for the majority of Roman rule.[1175] The *koinon* performed many roles under Ptolemaic rule, the most important of which was the organisation and promotion of Ptolemaic ruler cult.[1176] The *koinon* also minted coins in Ptolemaic Cyprus which bore images of the Ptolemaic leaders, which no doubt contributed to the promotion of their worship. Furthermore, the *koinon* organised and co-ordinated important festivals and athletic competitions. Inscriptions from the Hellenistic and Roman periods show that the

[1172] Cf. This study, chapter four, section **4.3.2**.
[1173] For recent surveys of the history and activities of the Cypriot *koinon* under Rome Cf. Mitford, (1980a) 1370-72; Potter (2000), 817-23, 825-9, 835-8.
[1174] References. Karageorghis and Maier (1984), 233: it is thought that the Koinon was founded by Onesandros - 'Priest of Ptolemaios Soter II Lathyros' (116-107 BC).
[1175] Karageorghis and Maier (1984), 233.
[1176] Karageorghis and Maier (1984), 233 and Karageorghis (2005), 31 and 39.

koinon did have benefactors and that it was within the power of the *koinon* to grant honorary distinctions to important people.[1177] The process of honouring an individual with a statue was expensive and had to be approved by the local administrative organisations as well as higher authorities, and so it must be assumed that the *koinon* had a high status in the administration of the island and must have overseen the administration of a treasury to which the Cypriot cities possibly made contributions.

5.4.2. The *koinon* under Roman rule.

The activities of the *koinon* can be traced as early as Cicero's governorship of Cilicia. Cicero wrote that he prided himself on refusing a bribe of 200 talents that had apparently been offered to previous governors in order to prevent the stationing of troops on the island.[1178] Potter interpreted the use of the plural, *Cyprii*, in this excerpt, as an indication that a collective organisation acting on behalf of all the cities on the island must be involved here. For Potter this must have been the *koinon*.[1179] It appears that with the removal of direct government, the *koinon* gained more significance. Through them the *poleis* could negotiate with the new ruling power.[1180]

Roughly thirteen inscriptions discovered in Cyprus, and a further three set up outside the island attest the activities of the *koinon* of Cyprus under Roman rule.[1181] This small

[1177] Cf. This study, chapter two, section **2.4.4**. **Nea Paphos Inscription** (*I.Paphos*, no. 237) in particular.
[1178] Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, 5. 21, 7 = *SB* 114, 7: *civitates locupletes ne in hiberna milites reciperent magnas pecunias debant, Cyprii Attica CC; qua ex insula (non sed verissime loquor) nummus nullus me obtinente erogabitur*.
[1179] Potter (2000), 776-7.
[1180] Potter (2000), 818.
[1181] In Cyprus:
[A] Nea Paphos: *ab* Hogarth (1889), 8–9, no. 1; Mitford (1950b), 29-30; *AnnÉp* (1953), no. 167; Moretti (1981), 265–268; *SEG* 31.1358; Christol, (1986), 6–14; *SEG* 36.1258; *b ICA* 9 (in *RDAC* 1970), 153–154, no. 8; *I.Paphos*, 397-8, no. 236.
[B] Nea Paphos: *ICA* 2 (in *RDAC* 1963), 44–45, no. 6; *SEG* 23.647; Kolb (2003), 244; *I.Paphos*, no. 239.
[C] Nea Paphos: This study, chapter two, section **2.4.4**. **Nea Paphos Inscription** (*I.Paphos*, no. 237)

corpus of inscriptions reveals that, in general, the responsibilities of the *koinon* under Roman rule were varied and wide reaching. Firstly, the *koinon* acted in the interests of the island as a whole perhaps by representing issues on behalf of the island to the Roman Senate and to the Emperor. For instance, as a representative body of the Cypriot *poleis* it could have protested against, or praised, the acts of governors.[1182] Additionally, the delegation to the Roman Senate which appealed for the right of asylum for the major sanctuaries of the island may well have been undertaken by the *koinon*.[1183] Secondly, the *koinon* minted and issued bronze coins that were circulated across the island, a responsibility which was re-instated under Claudius.[1184] The iconography of these coins will be discussed later in this chapter. Thirdly, the *koinon* was responsible for overseeing the religious affairs of the city and also administered festivals and oversaw the organisation of local calendars.[1185]

Their most important role was the promotion of the worship of the Roman Emperors across the island.[1186] Although no evidence attests the *koinon* setting up monuments directly

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[D] Palaipaphos: Mitford (1980b), 281, footnote 38; *SEG* 30.1627; Mitford (1990), 2196, footnote 105; *SEG* 40.1362; *I.Paphos*, no. 176; Kantiréa (2008), 97, no. 40; Fujii (2013) Paphos Vetus no. 5:
[E] Palaipaphos:This study, chapter four, section **4.2.3.2. Palaipaphos Inscription** (Fujii (2013) Paphos Vetus no. 9).
[F] Palaipaphos: Mitford (1950b), 58, no. 31; *I.Paphos*, no. 175.
[G] Extremely fragmentary from Chytroi: Mitford (1961a), 131, no. 30; SEG 20.301.
[H] Salamis: Tubbs (1891), 190, no. 44; *IGR* III 993; *ICA* 8 (in *RDAC* 1969), 78, no. 2; Mitford (1950b), 33, footnote 3; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 48.
[I] Salamis: Beaudouin and Pottier (1879a), 173, no. 24; *IGR* III 961; Hogarth (1889), 110-1, no. 33; Mitford (1950b), 75, footnote 1; Mitford (1980b), 279, footnote 27; *SEG* 30.1644; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 127; Kantiréa (2008), 104, no. 85; Fujii (2013) Salamis no. 14.
[J] Lapethus: Mitford (1950b), 25, no. 13.
[K] Kition: *LBW* III 2734; *IGR* III 980; *ICA* 23 (in *RDAC* 1984), 257-8, no. 1; *SEG* 34.1416; *I.Kition*, no. 2042; Fujii (2013) Kition no. 3.
[L] Kition: This study, chapter four, section **4.2.3.2**. **Palaipaphos Inscription** (*I.Paphos*, no. 182).
[M] Mitford (1947), 204, no. 10; Mitford (1950b), 74-5, no. 7; *I.Kition*, no. 2038; Fujii (2013) Kition no. 12.
Outside Cyprus: This study, chapter five, section **5.4.5**.
[1182] Karageorghis and Maier (1984), 278; Potter (2000) 817-21.
[1183] Tacitus, *Annales*, 3. 62.
[1184] *BMC. Cyprus*, p. 73- 87, for their function Cf. Howgego, (1985), 83- 99; Parks (2004), 163 - struck bronze to replenish supply or meet particular needs. Under Claudius: Parks (2004), 68-9.
[1185] For example, see this study, chapter four, section **4.1.1**. on the introduction of the Romano Cypriot calender, and section **4.2.3.2**. for discussion of the koinon's involvement in the oath of allegiance to the Emperor Tiberius.
[1186] Karageorghis and Maier (1984), 278, 280; Cf. Mitford (1980a), 1367, footnote 36 and 1371.

in honour of the Roman Emperors, they commemorated individuals who had acted in an official capacity in the organisation and worship of the Roman Emperor.[1187] For example at Kition the *Koinon* honoured Herakleides, who, amongst other roles, acted as an ambassador to the Emperor.[1188] Monuments have been discovered from Nea Paphos; Palaipaphos; Chytroi; Salamis; Lapethus; and Kition which attest the *koinon* celebrating individuals who founded local cults, acted in the capacity of high priests, priestesses, gymnasiarchs, or agonothetes, or providing a *polis* with funds and other means to stage important events.[1189]

Finally, the three inscriptions set up outside the island also show that the *koinon* represented the island to the outside world.[1190] Drawing upon the correspondence between Pliny the Younger and the Emperor Trajan, Potter highlighted that it is likely that it was in the interest of the *koinon* to act as a mediating body and smooth out issues between cities or communities before a problem could potentially attract the attention, and no doubt criticism,

[1187] Fujii (2013), 53.
[1188] *LBW* III 2734; *IGR* III 980; *ICA* 23 (in *RDAC* 1984), 257-8, no. 1; *SEG* 34.1416; *I.Kition*, no. 2042; Fujii (2013) Kition no. 3.
[1189] [A] Nea Paphos: *ab* Hogarth (1889), 8–9, no. 1; Mitford (1950b), 29-30; *AnnÉp* (1953), no. 167; Moretti (1981), 265–268; *SEG* 31.1358; Christol, (1986), 6–14; *SEG* 36.1258; *b ICA* 9 (in *RDAC* 1970), 153–154, no. 8; *I.Paphos*, 397-8, no. 236.
[B] Nea Paphos: *ICA* 2 (in *RDAC* 1963), 44–45, no. 6; *SEG* 23.647; Kolb (2003), 244; *I.Paphos*, no. 239.
[C] Nea Paphos: This study, chapter two, section **2.4.4**. **Nea Paphos Inscription** (*I.Paphos*, no. 237)
[D] Palaipaphos: Mitford (1980b), 281, footnote 38; *SEG* 30.1627; Mitford (1990), 2196, footnote 105; *SEG* 40.1362; *I.Paphos*, no. 176; Kantiréa (2008), 97, no. 40; Fujii (2013) Paphos Vetus no. 5:
[E] Palaipaphos:This study, chapter four, section **4.2.3.2. Palaipaphos Inscription** (Fujii (2013) Paphos Vetus no. 9).
[F] Palaipaphos: Mitford (1950b), 58, no. 31; *I.Paphos*, no. 175.
[G] Extremely fragmentary from Chytroi: Mitford (1961a), 131, no. 30; SEG 20.301.
[H] Salamis: Tubbs (1891), 190, no. 44; *IGR* III 993; *ICA* 8 (in *RDAC* 1969), 78, no. 2; Mitford (1950b), 33, footnote 3; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 48.
[I] Salamis: Beaudouin and Pottier (1879a), 173, no. 24; *IGR* III 961; Hogarth (1889), 110-1, no. 33; Mitford (1950b), 75, footnote 1; Mitford (1980b), 279, footnote 27; *SEG* 30.1644; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 127; Kantiréa (2008), 104, no. 85; Fujii (2013) Salamis no. 14.
[J] Lapethus: Mitford (1950b), 25, no. 13.
[K] Kition: *LBW* III 2734; *IGR* III 980; *ICA* 23 (in *RDAC* 1984), 257-8, no. 1; *SEG* 34.1416; *I.Kition*, no. 2042; Fujii (2013) Kition no. 3.
[L] Kition: This study, chapter four, section **4.2.3.2**. **Palaipaphos Inscription** (*I.Paphos*, no. 182).
[M] Mitford (1947), 204, no. 10; Mitford (1950b), 74-5, no. 7; *I.Kition*, no. 2038; Fujii (2013) Kition no. 12.
[1190] Ancyra Inscription 1; Athens Inscription 1; Capua Inscription 1.

of outsiders.[1191] That said, Potter stressed that the *koinon*, while able to act with some independence and affect major decisions concerning a province, did not have final authority.[1192] Other responsibilities may have included the collection of funds for communal activities from member cities.[1193]

Evidence from chapter two has shown that there was not a specific criteria or method for individuals to gain Roman citizenship in Cyprus, and the same applied to joining the *koinon*. No doubt, the position of holding office in the *koinon* was highly coveted and competition was a preoccupation of the local elite.[1194] The administration of the *koinon* by the high priest of the worship of the emperor was suggested by Mitford and is to be inferred from the absence of any other high official.[1195] We should imagine that members of the *koinon* belonged to the local elite, and were accordingly wealthy and influential.

5.4.3. The coins of the *koinon* of Cyprus.

Under Roman rule the *koinon* minted and issued many coins; given that the island was smaller than most eastern provinces, it is likely that only one mint was in operation on the island under Rome.[1196] It is thought that this mint existed at Nea Paphos and that the presence of a second mint at Salamis is unlikely.[1197] As mentioned above, the bronze coins minted by the *koinon* were usually for circulation across the province rather than in a particular city.[1198]

The appearance of coins minted by the *koinon* under Rome was fairly regular: the obverse of the coins bore an image of the Roman Emperor, whilst the reverse bore an image

[1191] Potter (2000), 821; cf. Pliny the Younger, *Letters*, 7.6 and 10.
[1192] Potter (2000), 817-21.
[1193] Potter (2000), 817-9.
[1194] Potter (2000), 828-9.
[1195] Mitford (1980a), 1350; Potter (2000), 817-9.
[1196] Parks (2004), 163. Karageorghis and Maier (1984), 278.
[1197] Parks (2004), 164.
[1198] Parks (2004), 165.

that reflected local concerns, and usually these were religious.[1199] The heavy promotion of the island's primary religious spaces, the sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia at Palaipaphos and the cult statue of Zeus Olympios at Salamis, appears on the majority of the reverse of these coins, accompanied by a portrait of the ruling Emperor.[1200] It could be argued that the iconography of these coins was an important element in the aim of the *koinon* of generating a sense of shared identity across the island. Other images utilised by the *koinon* include the legend of the *koinon* on the reverse,[1201] an eagle carrying a wreath,[1202] a myrtle wreath,[1203] a representation of Victory driving a chariot,[1204] and a representation of Fortuna standing within a temple structure or holding a cornucopia.[1205] The last attested coins minted by the Cypriot *koinon* were under the Severans.[1206]

[1199] Parks (2004), 165.
[1200] Parks (2004), 75 coin 12a: Obverse: Galba. Reverse: *Koinon*, temple of Aphrodite Paphia; Parks (2004), 76 coin 12b: Obverse: Galba. Reverse: *Koinon*, cult statue of Zeus Salaminios; Parks (2004), 79 coin 13a: Obverse: Vespasian. Reverse: *Koinon*, temple of Aphrodite Paphia; Parks (2004), 80 coin 13b: Obverse: Vespasian. Reverse: *Koinon*, temple of Aphrodite Paphia; Parks (2004), 80 coin 14a: Obverse: Titus. Reverse: *Koinon*, temple of Aphrodite Paphia; Parks (2004), 80 coin 14b: Obverse: Titus. Reverse: *Koinon*, cult statue of Zeus Salaminios; Parks (2004), 80-1 coin 15a: Obverse: Domitian. Reverse: *Koinon*, temple of Aphrodite Paphia; Parks (2004), 81 coin 15b: Obverse: Domitian. Reverse: *Koinon*, cult statue of Zeus Salaminios; Parks (2004), 100 coin 20a: Obverse: Trajan. Reverse: *Koinon*, temple of Aphrodite Paphia; Parks (2004), 101 coin 20b: Obverse: Trajan. Reverse: *Koinon*, cult statue of Zeus Salaminios; Parks (2004), 113 coin 23: Obverse: Septimius Severus. Reverse: *Koinon*, temple of Aphrodite Paphia; Parks (2004), 114-5 coin 25: Obverse: Caracalla. Reverse: *Koinon*, temple of Aphrodite Paphia; Parks (2004), 114 coin 24: Obverse: Julia Domna. Reverse: *Koinon*, temple of Aphrodite Paphia (detailed); Parks (2004), 115 coin 26: Obverse: Geta. Reverse: *Koinon*, Temple of Aphrodite Paphia.
[1201] Parks (2004), 69 coin 11a: Obverse Claudius with laurel. Reverse: *Koinon*; Parks (2004), 69 coin 11b: Obverse Claudius. Reverse: *Koinon*.
[1202] Parks (2004), 123 coin 29a: Obverse: Caracalla. Reverse: *Koinon*, eagle with wreath in its beak.
[1203] Parks (2004), 119 coin 27: Obverse: Julia Domna. Reverse: *Koinon*, myrtle wreath.
[1204] Parks (2004), 124 coin 29b: Obverse: Caracalla. Reverse: *Koinon*, victory driving *biga* to right.
[1205] Parks (2004), 124 coin 29c: Obverse: Caracalla. Reverse: *Koinon*, cult statue of Fortuna wearing a crown and holding a cornucopia - shrine; Parks (2004), 124 coin 30: Obverse: Julia Domna. Reverse: *Koinon*, cult statue of Fortuna, standing in tetrastyle shrine; Parks (2004), 125 coin 31: Obverse: Geta. Reverse: *Koinon*, cult statue of Fortuna, standing in tetrastyle shrine.
[1206] Parks (2004), 166.

5.4.4. The *koinon* beyond Cyprus.

As mentioned above, one responsibility of the *koinon* was to act in the interests of the island as a whole. In the literary record, this is possibly attested by Tacitus' account on an embassy that was sent to the Emperor Tiberius to request a grant for asylum for the island's oldest sanctuaries; it seems likely that the *koinon* was behind this.[1207] In the material record, three inscriptions demonstrate other ways in which the *koinon* ensured that the profile of Cyprus was included and maintained in other empire-wide concerns.

The first inscription is a plaque set up to the proconsul Titus Clodius Eprius Marcellus near his home town of Capua, Italy. While the text of the inscription does not specifically name the *koinon*, it would appear that the organisation would most likely be behind the erection of this monument.[1208]

Capua Inscription, (*CIL* 10.3853):[1209]

T(ito) Clodio M(arci) f(ilio) Fal(erna) / Eprio Marcello / co(n)s(uli) II auguri / curioni maximo / sodali Augustali / pr(aetori) per(egrino) proco(n)s(uli) / Asiae III / provincia Cyprus

Translation:

To T(itus) Clodius Eprius Marcellus, son of M(arcus), of the Fal(ernian voting-tribe),
Consul (for the second time), Augur, Greatest curio, Sodalis Augustalis,
Pr(aetor) for foreigners, proconsul of Asia for the third time.
The province of Cyprus.

[1207] Tacitus, *Annales*, 3.62.4.
[1208] Cf. Potter (2000), 821.
[1209] Cf. also *AnnÉp* (1984), no.189; *ILS* 992; Cf. *PIR*^{2} E 84.

In light of this investigation's interest in Cyprus' identity in the Second Sophistic, the most significant monument set up by the *koinon* is an inscription dated to AD 132 discovered at the *Olympeion*, the temple of Zeus at Athens.

Athens Inscription (*IG* II² 3296):

Αὐτοκράτορα · Καίσαρα Τρα-
ιανὸν Ἁδριανὸν · Σεβαστὸν
Ὀλύμπιον τὸν σωτῆρα
καὶ εὐεργέτην Κυπρίων
τὸ κοινὸν διὰ πρεσβευτῶν 5.
Γ · Ἰουλίου · Ῥούφου Παφίου
καὶ Κλεαγέ[ν]ους τοῦ Κλεα-
γένους Σαλαμινίου · πλιστονείκου.
ἐπὶ ἱερέως · Κλ · Ἡρώδου *folium*

Translation:

(To) Imperator Caesar Traianus
Hadrianus Augustus
Olympios the saviour
and benefactor of Cyprus
the *koinon* (set up this monument) through the ambassadors
G(aius) Iulius Rufus of Paphos
and Cleagenes son of Cleagenes
of Salamis victor in many contests,
in the priesthood of Cl(audius) Herodus.

The establishment of the *Panhellenion* by the Emperor Hadrian was a moment of great cultural significance in the Roman Empire, particularly to the Greek East. Potter rightly highlights that this was a moment from which the Cypriots did not want to be left out![1210]

An inscriptions discovered in Ancyra has been identified as a monument set up by the *koinon*. The inscription reveals that as an organisation they sent an official to Ancyra to

[1210] Cf. chapter four.

praise a former proconsul of the island. The date of this monument has been estimated from AD 212 and possibly during the third century AD.[1211]

Ancyra Inscription (Mitchell and French (2012), no. 50):[1212]

[----]
[.....] ΛṖΠḭṆṆ [-]
[τ]ὸν λαμπρότα[τον]
(*vac*) ὑπατικόν (*vac*)
[τὸ] κοινὸν τῶν Κυ
πṛίων · τὸν μετὰ τ[οῦ]
[Σ]εβ. · σωτῆρα σύνπαντο[ς]
[τ]οῦ ἔθνους κὲ εὐεργέτη[ν],
[ἐ]πṛιμελθέντος Αὐṛ. · Ξḛ́-
[ν]ωνος ἀγορανομήσ[αντος]
κὲ ΠΙΑṚΚαρχήσαντο[ς . .]
[ἐ]πṛὶ τοῦτο ἀṖοṣṭṛαλḛ́[ντος]
[π]ṛεσβṛ . κὲ · πṛὸς τὴν λα[μπρ.]
[μ]ητρόπ (*vac*) Ἄνκυρα[ν].

Translation, (Mitchell and French (2012), 205):

The community of the Cyprians (honoured) - Ulpius (?) - - , the most splendid governor, after the Emperor the saviour and benefactor of the whole province. Under the charge of Aurelius Xenon, who had been *agoranomos* and - - archon, having been sent as ambassador for this purpose also to the most distinguished *metropolis*, Ancyra.

5.5. Conclusions.

The evidence presented in this chapter reveals the presence of individuals from Roman Cyprus, along with one city, and the *koinon* of the island, in Italy (Capua, Rome, Messina), the Lebanon (Tyre), Greece (Athens, Delphi, Paros, Oropos, Sparta), and in Asia Minor (Ancyra, Anazarbos) It has been noted that the quantity and dates of the surviving evidence varies between locations. For this reason it is difficult to observe and comment on

[1211] Mitchell and French (2012), 205.
[1212] Other references: Mitchell, S. (1977), 70-2, no. 5; *BE* (1978), no. 488. Present Location: Roman Baths, Inv. no. 10039.

any regional or local trends in the construction and expression of individual and collective identity outside the island. Finally, the volume of evidence discovered in these locations is significantly less in the Roman period compared with the Hellenistic period, thus making it difficult to consider the phenomenon of cultural change. Nevertheless, the evidence has allowed some straightforward observations to be made.

Firstly, it seems that monuments set up by individuals or the *koinon* of the island, of which there are two, in the west of the Empire were done so in Latin. The remaining monuments set up by individuals and collective groups, set up in the east of the Empire, were done so using Greek. There is nothing remarkable about this, but it does show that those responsible for setting up monuments outside the island did so using the appropriate conventions that would carry meaning and significance in the locality in which their monuments were being set up. Secondly, it appears that individuals named in monuments outside the island expressed their identity by means which bore the most significance outside Cyprus too. For instance, in funerary and honorific monuments set up in the Greek East, individuals identified themselves by their city or parentage. Alternatively, in the commemorative monument set up by Apollonius at Rome, he expressed his identity by citing his status as a high profile administrator of the island. Thirdly, the monuments which reveal the expression of collective identity outside the island suggest equally conscientious constructions of identity. The monuments of Kition and Salamis are of great interest because of their dating. The monument set up by Kition could be interpreted as a deliberate attempt by the city to strengthen its Phoenician ties and identity. Additionally, the monuments of the *koinon* set up outside the island display Cyprus' engagement with Rome, its officials, and Hadrian's *Panhellenion*, even though none of the island's cities are listed as members of the *Panhellenion*. Finally, the monuments relating to individuals outside Cyprus do not reveal a

desire to express belonging to the island as a whole, bar the monument set up by Apollonius, but in fact express the significance of maintaining local identity outside the island. It is only in the monuments of the *koinon* that the expression of an island identity can be detected, and this identity was one which was aligned with both local and global concerns. Evidence for the activities of the *koinon* implies the responsibility of this organisation of representing the concerns of the island as a whole. The iconography of the coinage minted by the *koinon* in the Roman period, along with the inscriptions and monuments that were erected by them in and outside the island, provide interesting evidence for the construction of island identity. Coins which were circulated across Cyprus and perhaps within the region of the Eastern Mediterranean show that symbols relating to the worship of the island's most high-profile deities were key to the island's overall identity. The images of Aphrodite Paphia, myrtle - a plant associated with the goddess, and the cult statue of Zeus Olympios would have been instantly recognisable as distinctive symbols of the *koinon* and the island. These images were then presented alongside symbols that related to Rome, which included the profile of the Roman Emperors, personifications of victory, the goddess Fortuna, and the eagle. Inscriptions set up by the *koinon* across the island called attention to its role. For instance, the *koinon* was involved in the promotion of local cults and celebrated local elites who contributed financially to the organisation of local festivals and contests. The *koinon* was also thought to have played a leading role in the creation of the Paphian Calendar and Oath of Allegiance to Tiberius, which highlights the responsibility of the organisation to represent Cyprus as aligned with external, Empire-wide concerns. The three monuments set up by the *koinon* outside the island, further emphasised this latter role of the *koinon*. The monuments set up to the two Roman officials at Ancyra and Capua, along with the inscription at Athens, illustrates the essential role that the *koinon* played in ensuring that Cyprus was integrated into

the cultural politics of the Empire. Whether this evidence points to the role of the *koinon* as a 'national' institution is uncertain. Evidence concerning the way in which individuals and cities expressed their identity and belonging to their places of origins mostly points to an affiliation with a city or particular locality as opposed to the island as a whole.

Chapter Six. Conclusions.

This investigation has sought to achieve many things. First, to re-evaluate traditional characterisations of Roman Cyprus as a quiet and inactive provincial backwater of the Empire. While it is undeniable that the annexation of Cyprus by Rome in 58 BC resulted in the island being positioned on the periphery of an Empire as opposed to near the hub of one, an aim of this study has been to demonstrate that Roman Cyprus is a rich case study for explorations of the Roman provinces in general. The second aim was to avoid an investigation driven by the rhetoric of Romanisation. In both its traditional and revised terms, the model and vocabulary of Romanisation is overburdened with political and scholarly 'baggage'. To achieve the aims of this study, it was essential, from the outset, to use a model that was reflective of the diversity of cultural change, cultural identity, and experience under Rome (as experienced by the inhabitants of Cyprus). A third aim was to investigate the topics of 'power' and 'identity', both of which are currently popular themes in Roman studies and in many ways reflect the influence of the application of postcolonial studies to the ancient world. In this instance, this meant an examination of individual and collective identities which are considered as fundamental to an investigation of local responses to Roman power. Finally, to discuss whether any elements of Cyprus' culture, society and identities under Rome could be considered as distinctively 'Cypriot'. To ensure an interpretation of Roman Cyprus' culture and society that was realistic and reflective of the aims of this investigation, it was also the intention of this study to explore local identities and communities of Roman Cyprus, and to emphasise the significance of the evidence in relation to the history of the Eastern Mediterranean.

Chapter one has illustrated that the history and society of Roman Cyprus has particularly attracted the attention of epigraphists and numismatists because of its rich material culture. In recent years, studies which have revisited specific aspects of the culture and society of Roman Cyprus have demonstrated that previous studies which painted an impressionistic picture of the island's culture and society under Rome need to be reconsidered further. For instance, Potter's 'Roman Cyprus' focused on the diverse evidence for the politics, economy of the island and the activities of its local elites.[1213] Likewise, Fujii's study of the worship of the Roman Emperor in Cyprus provides overwhelming evidence for the local, varied appearance and practice of the cult across the island; in Roman Cyprus worship of the Roman Emperors was very much locally driven, defined by local concerns, and was far from homogeneous.[1214] In general though, the emergence of studies which focus attention on local reaction to Roman rule has been slow, and the overall characterisation of Roman Cyprus as a 'weary', inactive province with an 'obscure' and quiet history under Rome, with its people as reluctant to resist the introduction of Roman customs, has remained unchallenged for far too long.[1215] The formulation of such opinions echoed the rhetoric of the Romanisation model. Furthermore, the use of the Romanisation model and the vocabulary associated with it continued to be used to explain the dialogue between Rome and Cyprus and the phenomenon of cultural change until very recently.[1216] While debates surrounding the use, and utility, of Romanisation as a theoretical framework have dominated Roman studies for decades, with many scholars reaching conclusions that alternative models championed from social studies are equally inadequate, that there is nothing inept about using the revised model of

[1213] Potter (2000).
[1214] Fujii (2013).
[1215] For example, Hill (1940), 239; Mitford (1980a), 1290.
[1216] Michaelides (1990), 119; Raptou (2007), 126; Kantiréa (2008), 92; Connelly (2010), 179; Kantiréa (2011), 243, 256.

Romanisation, or simply tiring of the debate, one may wonder what is the point in challenging its use in this study.[1217] The reason is simple. Investigations of Roman Cyprus, to date, have failed to engage with the debate and this has proven to be unsatisfactory, and even detrimental, to the study of Roman Cyprus in general. Studies into other periods of Cyprus' ancient history, notably the island's prehistory, have been advanced by investigations that are mindful of the debate and alternative models.[1218] In addition, the continued use of the rhetoric of Romanisation misrepresents Rome's attitude to Cyprus and also seriously undermines local, Cypriot reaction to Roman rule. For instance, in his brief overview of Roman Cyprus, Michaelides stated that Rome had little interest in 'Romanising' Cyprus.[1219] Such an observation not only distorts local reaction to Roman rule, but it also falsifies Rome's engagement with its provinces. Additionally, in Knapp's study which champions the application of postcolonial models to the study of ancient Cyprus, he stated that under Rome the people of Cyprus failed to maintain local symbols and traditions, and simply adopted Roman ones.[1220] While both of these comments are situated in a general history of Cyprus and a study of Cyprus' prehistory, respectively, I believe that it is the continuation of misleading analyses like these that have rendered Roman Cyprus arguably as uninteresting and unworthy of further study. As a result, Roman Cyprus is under-represented in collaborative studies which seek to investigate new and engaging topics.[1221] As a case study for life in the Roman provinces it has a lot to offer. Finally, chapter one established that in order to investigate local responses to Roman rule, as one means of exploring the themes of power and identity, that a methodological framework of 'insiders' and 'outsiders' would be

[1217] Cf. This study, chapter one, section entitled 'The "R" Word'.
[1218] For example: Knapp (2008); Connelly (2009); Knapp and van Dommelen (2010).
[1219] Michaelides (1990), 119.
[1220] Knapp (2008), 30.
[1221] For example: Bolger and Serwint eds. (2002).

applied to the analysis of literary and material evidence. This model would allow for flexibility in interpreting the multiple and varied dialogues which took place between Rome and other individuals and communities from the Eastern Mediterranean (loosely labelled as outsiders) and Cypriots (loosely labelled as insiders).

Re-examination of the events surrounding Cyprus' annexation by Rome in 58 BC, the initial, chaotic organisation of the island, and the regulation of its administration from 22 BC, in chapter two, set the scene for the remainder of this investigation. Not only did analysis of Mitford's list of Roman proconsuls from 56 BC to the mid fourth century AD remind us of the status of Cyprus in the Roman Empire, but a re-evaluation of the already known evidence has enabled us to gain a better picture of the role of the proconsul and the character of Roman administration in Cyprus, as well as local reaction to it.[1222] While the traditional picture of Roman Cyprus as a generally well governed province from 22 BC remains, study of the evidence using insider-outsider theory has revealed a more complex picture of the reception of the proconsul and his relationship with individuals, the *demos* and *boule* of the *poleis,* and the *poleis* as a whole. In general, it appears that Roman officials were received in a positive and enthusiastic way in the *poleis* and sanctuaries of the island, however, the evidence contained within the curse tablets of Amathous reveal a negative interaction between the proconsul and an individual. Although this evidence is confined by location and date to Amathous in the second to third centuries AD, the private, secretive nature of the evidence and the status of individuals who are attested in the tablets point to the need for a theoretical model that allows for a flexible and unburdened exploration of cultural change, cultural identity, and experience under Rome. The tablets, of which one certainly reveals a curse directed at the proconsul, demonstrate resistance to Rome. Further investigation of the

[1222] Cf. This study, chapter two, section **2.4**.

remaining 200 fragments has the potential to reveal more interactions between Roman officials and locals at Amathous, but also of internal disputes which the proconsul undoubtedly had to get involved in. While it is known that the annexation of the island was brutal and some of the inhabitants suffered abuse at the hands of Roman officials initially, the general history of the island's administration from 22 BC as positive and the localised instance of tension between Roman administration and a provincial one confirmed that the model of Romanisation is unsatisfactory for an investigation of Roman Cyprus. Furthermore, a model taken directly from postcolonial studies - such as creolization, or discrepant identities both, of which imply consistent resistance to a conquering power are not appropriate alternatives and do not allow for the positive interaction and adoption of Roman symbols to be explored alongside episodes of tension and underground resistance. The framework of insiders and outsiders proved useful in uncovering these nuances.

Chapters three, four, and five, which focused on the display of Roman *civitas* in public monuments, the construction, maintenance, and projection of civic identity, and the island identity of Roman Cyprus respectively, all revealed similar trends relating to the themes of power and identity.

Revisiting and building upon Mitford's 1980-published study 'Roman *Civitas* in Salamis', chapter three explored the representation of insiders and outsiders in the epigraphic record. This chapter focussed on the monuments of Roman citizens and high-profile visitors from outside the island along with locally enfranchised elites. In sum, the findings of both Sherwin-White's study of Roman citizenship and Mitford's 1980-pubished article mostly remain.[1223] Both studies revealed that the rewards of enfranchisement were never the result of

[1223] Sherwin-White (1973); Mitford (1980b).

holding public office and, more significantly, that being awarded Roman citizenship was a badge of honour by the time of Augustus' reign. The sporadic appearance of Roman citizenship in Roman Cyprus confirmed this.

The monuments of outsiders and high-profile visitors on the island revealed that the text of inscriptions made use of linguistic strategies to assert an identity that was separate from a local community. Furthermore, the monuments of outsiders reveal their integration to some extent.[1224] Monuments of high-profile individuals set up by insiders also revealed the employment epigraphic conventions and symbols that were not local to project and associate an identity with a locality.[1225] Also, the suggestion that a monument set up at Kourion to allude to an imperial visit by the Emperor Trajan implies that high profile individuals did not need to visit the island to make an impact on insiders and their communities.[1226] Two inscriptions which reveal the identities of former slaves are unique in that they are the only monuments, not connected with an official act of the Roman administration or Roman businessmen, set up using both Latin and Greek.[1227] The paucity of the evidence does not allow for a firm conclusion, but it is tempting to associate the appearance of bilingual monuments with outsiders as it appears that these former slaves did not originate from Cyprus but settled there.

The monuments of locally enfranchised elites revealed a careful display of identities. For instance, local elites granted citizenship advertised and celebrated their Roman status and identity by including features such as their *tria nomina*, voting tribes in their monuments, and other connections to outside customs and ideologies such as their involvement in the worship

[1224] Chapter three, section **3.2.1**.
[1225] Chapter three, section **3.2.4**.
[1226] Chapter three, section **3.2.3**.
[1227] Cf. Chapter three, section **3.2.1**. Inscriptions **Salamis Inscription** (*Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 103) and *Kition Inscription* (*I.Kition*, no. 2093).

of the Emperor.[1228] These Roman symbols were balanced in some instances by the inclusion of their lineage in Cyprus, references to other names by which they went, and also their - or their family's involvement with the worship of gods that were locally significant. All of these symbols and features identified the status of these individuals within the context of their *polis* and the island as a whole. Interestingly, the monuments of individuals who were not granted Roman citizenship display a combination of both Roman and local features listed above, only Roman citizens were able to emphasise their status by including the *tria nomina* and a voting tribe in their monuments, which implies that the award of citizenship was nothing more than a badge of honour in Cyprus. In some cases the consideration of the accompanying statues to the inscriptions studied has enabled further reflection of how linguistic and visual bilingual elements of a monument were combined to convey a message or an identity.[1229] Finally, the basic definitions of both insiders and outsiders for the individuals recorded in inscriptions has proven essential for this chapter as it has shown the flexibility of identity as a concept. The discussion of inscriptions and statues has revealed that a monument representing an individual from Italy, enfranchised Cypriots, or any individual who did not attain citizenship could in fact portray multiple identities. For example, an insider (a member of the local elite class of Cyprus) could be represented as an insider in a monument because of their activities and involvement in local concerns, or their lineage, and yet also as an outsider because of their display of Roman symbols, particularly those identified with the Roman citizenship. Likewise, an outsider (a high-profile visitor), could consciously display their identity as separate from the local community, but they could also be considered as behaving as insiders because of the way in which their monument was set up, particularly if it was in a local sanctuary and observed local customs. The monuments of the *Ummidii* of Paphos (as insiders

[1228] Chapter three, sections **3.3.1** and **3.3.2**.
[1229] For example, the monuments of the *Ummidii* as discussed in chapter three, section **3.3.1**.

displaying both insider and outsider identities) and the monuments of the *negotiatores* (as outsiders displaying both insider and outsider identities) are demonstrative of this point.

Overall, this chapter has shown that evidence for the people who lived in Roman Cyprus relates mostly to the activities of local elites. The experience of freedmen, freedwomen, and slaves is only hinted at in a few inscriptions and other evidence .[1230] The activities of women are represented, but not in such a prolific way as men. As mentioned above, further study of the unpublished tablets from Amathous have the potential to reveal vital information not only about the practice of magic in Roman Cyprus, but also the identity of the Amathusian community during that period, the identity, status and power of local women. Finally, children are almost completely lacking in the literary and material sources. To broaden the exploration of the individual expressions of identity, further study of the fragmentary evidence relating to the social classes listed above may be useful. Although underrepresented, a consideration of their appearance in monuments may enlighten us with regards the experience of the sub-elite in Roman Cyprus. For certain, comparison of the representation of the local elite in public monuments with other high profile individuals from other provinces will be useful and could determine whether the trends identified in Roman Cyprus are unique to the island or representative of wider, regional responses to Roman rule.

Chapter four extended the exploration of local responses to Rome by considering the topic of civic identity. The overview of previous general studies into the *poleis* of Roman

[1230] For the activities of women in this study cf. chapter three, section **3.2.5**. which considers the activities of Sergia Aurelia Regina, and section **3.3.1**. which reveals the involvement of Claudia Appharion in the Paphian religious scene. The monument of Apollonia and her husband, which records their foundation of a Tychaeum, is also significant: chapter four, section **4.2.3.2**. **Palaipaphos Inscription** (*I.Paphos*, no. 182).
For the evidence concerning freedmen and freedwomen cf. chapter three, section **3.2.1**. Inscriptions **Salamis Inscription** (*Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 103) and **Kition Inscription** (*I.Kition*, no. 2093). Monuments of Sergia Aurelia Regina too imply that she had slaves and that she was a patron.
For discussion of children in this study cf. chapter two, section **2.4.4**. It must be noted that the monuments of children briefly discussed in this section concern children of the proconsuls of Cyprus, in other words outsiders.

Cyprus which focussed on the civic rivalry of Nea Paphos and Salamis based on the use of calendars and the title *metropolis* in inscriptions, was a useful starting point for this chapter.[1231] While the creation of the Romano-Cypriot calendar at Paphos and the retention of an Egyptian calendar at Salamis, combined with the appearance of *metropolis* in the monuments of both cities, point to the civic rivalry of both cities, it is now apparent that the identity and experience of these two cities should not be defined solely by these two pieces of evidence. The evidence suggested by Fujii most recently for both of these themes shows the complexity of the evidence. Furthermore, the need to consider the profiles of other Roman Cypriot *poleis* is also evident. Chapter four has built on past studies by considering four *poleis*: Nea Paphos and Palaipaphos, Kourion, Amathous, and Salamis. Through the study of each *polis*' foundation myths, associated mythology in general, and local religions, this chapter has shown that civic identity was consciously constructed by insiders of the *poleis* and also by outsiders. Furthermore, it has been shown that the identities of the Roman *poleis* were multiple, complex, constantly evolving, and comprised of a variety of local and outside influences.

The foundation myths of Nea and Palaipaphos, Kourion, Amathous, and Salamis can be considered as constructed by insiders and then perpetuated by both insiders and outsiders throughout the histories of the *poleis*.[1232] The foundation myths of Nea Paphos, Palaipaphos, and Kourion appear to have been significant to their civic identities in the Roman period and the local myths associated with all four *poleis* were important to their religious landscapes under Rome as well.

[1231] Chapter four, sections **4.1.1**. and **4.1.2**.
[1232] Chapter four, sections **4.2.2**.; **4.3.2**.; **4.4.2**.; and **4.5.2**.

The names of the Roman *poleis* directly allude to prominent mythological figures in the foundation myths. Palaipaphos was founded by Agapenor or Kinyras, both heroes associated with the Trojan War. For instance, the particular association of Kinyras and his descendents with the worship of Aphrodite remained essential to the religious identity of the goddess in the Paphos region. Literary accounts of outsiders explain the prevalence of local customs and beliefs relating to the practices of Kinyras that were maintained in the Roman period, and inscriptions and coins attest the ancient appearance and customs of the sanctuary. The use of the title *Kinyrarch* in an inscription discovered at the Sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia is particularly striking as it suggests a deliberate archaising by the individual who set up the monument.[1233] Likewise, at Kourion, literary and epigraphic evidence points to the maintenance of an Argive connection through the perpetuation of its foundation myth, particularly at the Sanctuary of Apollo Hylates. Again, the foundation myth of Kourion is maintained by both insiders and outsiders. The role of a Roman official in establishing a festival of Antinoos at Kourion is demonstrative of the way in which outsiders manipulated local myths and identities to increase the appeal of, and also aid a smooth introduction of, Roman culture. In the inscription, Kourion is celebrated as sprung from the blood of Perseus.[1234] The foundation myth of Amathous is not as well-known, but the religious identity of the *polis*, along with the use of local myths, as attested by insiders and the lost works of outsiders, reveals that the name of the *polis* was strongly associated with its foundation myth as the city was supposedly founded by Amathous, a son of Hercules, or by Kinyras who named the city after his mother Amathousa. Finally, Salamis was undoubtedly a foundation of the Greek hero Teuker who named the city after his native Salamis from where

[1233] Chapter four, section **4.2.3.2. Palaipaphos Inscription** (*I.Paphos*, no. 181).
[1234] Chapter four, section **4.3.3.2**. **Kourion Inscription** (Fujii (2013) Kourion no.13), cf. also **Kourion Inscription** (*I.Kourion*, no. 89).

he was banished. Salamis was the only city to be re-founded under Rome and renamed as Constantia in the mid fourth century AD. The names of the Roman *poleis* reflected their foundations and it is likely that this alone perpetuated the memory of these myths across the island. The mythology of Kinyras was wide reaching and in many ways connected many of the *poleis*.

In each *polis*, it is clear that the local myths, and in some cases the foundation myths, associated with the local area shaped the religious landscape and identity of the gods worshipped. The brief survey of religions attested in each *polis* along with the use of mythology has enabled a better understanding of civic identity and has also resulted in some of the traditional pictures of the *poleis* to be reconsidered.[1235]

Although Nea Paphos has been traditionally characterised as 'pro-Roman' because of its enthusiastic welcome and adoption of Roman customs and ideologies such as the introduction of the Romano-Cypriot calendar, the oath of allegiance to Tiberius, and the worship of the Emperor amongst other factors, the religion of the region was firmly localised and characterised by the myths of Kinyras and of Aphrodite in the Roman period. Cayla's bold hypothesis that the worship of Kinyras as a hero cult was maintained in the Roman period, was supported by the evidence associated with the sanctuary of Opaon Melanthios and the oath of allegiance to Tiberius. Furthermore, although fragmentary, the appearance of the topography of the city and sanctuaries should be considered. Architectural remains of the sanctuary and the description provided by Tacitus imply that the appearance of the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Palaipaphos was haphazard and emphasised its antiquity. It appears that literary accounts of the sanctuary and its customs, from the Classical period through to the Roman period, were mindful of its Phoenician connections. The structures of the sanctuary

[1235] Chapter four, sections **4.2.3.2**.; **4.3.3.2**.; **4.4.3.2**.; and **4.5.3.2**.

could have stood in great contrast to the rest of the *polis* which consisted of a mixture of structures that could be considered as Roman and Greek, such as the amphitheatre, theatre, *odeion*, and *agora* for example. Further study of the statuettes and mosaics discovered in private contexts would build upon the picture that this study has presented of the influences present in Roman Nea Paphos and Palaipaphos.

At Kourion, while the celebration and worship of the Roman Emperor, particularly that of Apollo Caesar, points to the integration of his worship, his identity is enigmatic and it is evidence that the worship of the Emperor did not compromise the worship of the chief deity Apollo Hylates. Nor was the identity of the city compromised by the adoption of Roman customs. Reconstructions of the Greek temple of Apollo Hylates, rebuilt from the first century AD, have revealed that the style of the temple was influenced by Syrian architectural styles. It appears then that the negotiation of civic identity at Kourion should not be considered only in terms of the adoption and assimilation of Roman and local symbols, but also those of the Near East. Further study of coins, pottery, and statuary could further uncover the connections that Roman Kourion enjoyed with the wider region of the Eastern Mediterranean and the Near East. This would ultimately add to our picture of the multiple identities of Roman Kourion.

The survey of religions attested at Amathous reveals that the identity and experience of the city under Rome was also localised and varied to the rest of the island. While the worship of Aphrodite at Amathous and the presence and impact of the Roman Emperor Trajan reveals connectivity and similarities with other Roman Cypriot *poleis*, it is notable that the worship of these deities was markedly different from their worship in other *poleis*. At Amathous, the worship of Ariadne, Helios-Adonis, and possibly other Egyptian deities imply

that the city maintained many of its local traditions under Roman rule. An overview of the *defixiones* of Amathous in this study also highlighted the transmission of ideas, goods, people and practices at Amathous from Northern Africa as a result of the position of the *polis* on the southern coast of Cyprus and its proximity to Egypt.

Finally to Salamis, which has been the most surprising and complex *polis* to examine. The survey of the *polis* provided by this chapter has proven that the civic identity and experience of Roman Salamis needed to be reconsidered and that the traditional picture of the city was insufficient. Given the characterisation of Salamis as being slow to show enthusiasm for Roman rule because of its 'rough initiation' under Rome, one might expect to find that the *polis* was reserved in its adoption of Roman customs and display of Roman symbols. Interestingly, unlike Nea Paphos, Palaipaphos, and Kourion, the foundation myth of Salamis does not appear to have been perpetuated in the material culture of the city under Roman rule. Several anecdotes preserved by Pausanias imply that the foundation myth of Salamis bore many similarities to the foundation myths of the Paphos region. Little can be ascertained regarding the religious landscape of Salamis, but like the other *poleis* discussed, the worship of the Roman Emperor appears to have been integrated along with the worship of other deities. The surviving structures of Salamis are useful to compare the use of public space in Roman Cyprus, particularly as the archaeology is far richer than other hubs of the island. For instance, at Salamis, a theatre, an amphitheatre, gymnasia, baths, and a sanctuary to Zeus Olympios have been discovered. The discovery of inscriptions in these locations which attest the celebration of the Emperor and Rome, alongside members of the Salaminian community, and local gods, suggests the way in which communal space contributed to collective experience in the *poleis* and also how this was then later perpetuated through the evocation of memory through the monuments set up in and around these spaces. The structure of the city

points to a flourishing economic and cultural hub in the island. The existence of an amphitheatre, although unexcavated, is a remarkable feature of the city. Amphitheatres were distinctive as Roman constructions and their discovery in the eastern provinces is not as well attested as in the west. Salamis was not the only city to boast an amphitheatre, Nea Paphos did also. In particular, at Salamis, enthusiasm for the Roman Emperor is remarkable following the devastation of the city in the Jewish uprising.

Re examination of evidence for Judaism has not added anything new to previous studies but has been important in deconstructing false assumptions that had been previously suggested about the Jewish communities of Roman Cyprus. It seems that the lack of evidence for their identity and experience under Rome will be difficult to recover.

Chapter four also considered evidence for the expression of identity in Cyprus that could be associated with the Second Sophistic. Inscriptions and literary anecdotes from all four *poleis* could be considered as reflective of the themes associated with the Second Sophistic. For example, the foundation myths of the *poleis* undoubtedly reflect local understanding and interpretation regarding the movement and settlement of peoples from elsewhere during the 12th to 11th centuries BC. Amongst the many and varied foundation myths circulated were those which reported that many of the cities of Cyprus were foundations of heroes returning from Troy. The maintenance of Homeric myths by insiders and outsiders, particularly those relating to the foundation of the *poleis* and the Trojan cycle, in Roman Cyprus can be considered as a deliberate attempt to maintain the memory of Mycenaean culture in Cyprus.

The most remarkable anecdote provided by Pausanias concerning the construction of identity by insiders in Cyprus implies why the myths of Greek heroes were so popular in

Cyprus, particularly those that were associated with Homer. According to Pausanias, the Cypriots maintained that Homer's mother was born at Salamis. Although Pausanias does not specify who 'the Cypriots' were, it is highly likely that he was referring to Salaminians as the anecdote concerns the city of Salamis and can be considered as a local myth which no doubt elevated the status of Salamis in Cyprus. This anecdote reveals the negotiations of power and identity in Roman Cyprus as something that was competed between the cities in a bid to assert their status. The claim that Homer's mother was a Salaminian could have also been a local invention which reveals how the Salaminians asserted the high profile of their city in the context of the wider region of the Eastern Mediterranean. The revival of classical themes relating to the foundation myths of the cities can also be detected in few inscriptions from Nea Paphos, Palaipaphos and Kourion, thus revealing how the trends of the Second Sophistic can be traced in the material record too.

Overall, the construction of civic identity in Roman Cyprus was deliberate and initially locally driven. Key to civic identities were local myths, particularly foundation myths, which shaped the practice and traditions of religion across the island and ultimately characterised the *poleis* of the island. Furthermore, it is clear that the multiple civic identities could exist alongside one another and that they were maintained by insiders and outsiders in Roman Cyprus to achieve various aims. This study has also shown that civic rivalry was an important factor in the construction and maintenance of identity in Roman Cyprus. Civic rivalry expressed between the Roman *poleis* was not as intense as other competing *poleis* of Asia Minor, and while it should not be exaggerated, was certainly an existent phenomenon. Evidence for the competition felt between the *poleis* cannot only be detected in the evidence presented in chapter four, but also by the evidence presented in chapter three, such as celebration of local elites who were citizens, high priests of local cults or of the Roman

Emperor, the embellishment of the cities by their inhabitants, and the celebration of high profile outsiders. All of these factors were utilised by cities and their inhabitants to elevate the status of their city in the island and the region of the Mediterranean.

The study of the *poleis* could be built upon in various ways. Study of the mosaics, statuary, and architecture of each *polis* could enhance our understanding of the cultural profile of the cities. Furthermore, consideration of the economic profile of the cities studies would also complete and provide a more rounded picture of connections of the cities. Study of all the cities of Roman Cyprus would be ideal to work towards a complete overview of the poleis, but this would be fragmented because of the limited nature of the evidence for some cities.

Chapter five extended the exploration of collective identity further by considering the 'island identity' of Roman Cyprus. Evidence for individuals, *poleis,* and the *koinon* of Cyprus outside the island was studied.[1236] Although the evidence is limited by time and geography, the representation of individuals and *poleis* in monuments outside the island mostly reveal a preference to identity oneself as belonging to a *polis* as opposed to the island in general. This is evident from the funerary monuments discovered across the Empire.[1237] Furthermore, the inscription possibly set up by Kition at Tyre implies the deliberate association of the *polis* with Tyre under Rome, perhaps to strengthen its identity and connections with the Near East.[1238] The dating of this monument falls within the framework of the Second Sophistic. The monuments and coins of the *koinon* of Cyprus reveal that as an association, they could be considered as acting in the interests of the island as a whole, that they reflected local and

[1236] Chapter five, sections **5.2**.; **5.3**.; and **5.4**.
[1237] Chapter five, section **5.2**.
[1238] Chapter five, section **5.3**. **Tyre Inscription** (*I.Kition*, no. 176).

global symbols, and that as an organisation they ensured that Cyprus remained significant and was involved with regional concerns, such as Hadrian's *panhellenion*.[1239]

In conclusion, it is clear is that individual and collective identities in Roman Cyprus, as evidenced by inscriptions and the literary record, carefully combined local traditions and symbols with customs and symbols associated with the wider region of the Mediterranean and Rome. Roman Cyprus was the land of Aphrodite, of Trojan heroes, and of Homer, amongst other things, all of which had wide appeal and scope that enabled the people of the island, either as individuals or as part of a community, to align themselves with Empire-wide concerns and trends without diminishing the qualities that made their identity unique and local under Rome. Furthermore, the evidence studied in this investigation has shown that the construction and maintenance of individual and collective identities was facilitated by a conscious self-awareness displayed by the island. Cyprus and its peoples knew of their position in the Mediterranean, that their country lay on the crossroads of civilisations and was host to varied outside influences. For this reason, the identity of the island and its people never remained static but should be considered as constantly evolving. Roman Cyprus was by no means a 'weary' or an inactive province, but its peoples were in fact politically savvy and able to align themselves, and their cities, with Empire wide trends and themes whilst maintaining their traditions and customs. Identity in Roman Cyprus was ambiguous, constantly evolving, and flexible. This was inevitable given the location of the island and its long history of absorbing outside influences.

The question of whether there was anything distinctively 'Cypriot' about the identity of the people and island of Cyprus under Roman rule is difficult to answer without comparative study of identity in other Roman provinces. What is evident is that the classic

[1239] Chapter five, section **5.4.4**.

adage of 'becoming Roman, staying Greek' is reflective as a summary of Cypriot experience and negotiation of power and identity under Roman rule.[1240] Only that Greek should be taken to mean Cypriot, and by extension, Cypriot to mean a combination of Homeric, Mycenaean, Argive, Egyptian, Syrian and Phoenician identities.

[1240] Woolf (1993-4); Woolf (1998).

FIGURES

Figure One: Map of Europe. Image from *The Times Concise Atlas of the World* (2006), tenth edition, 132-3.

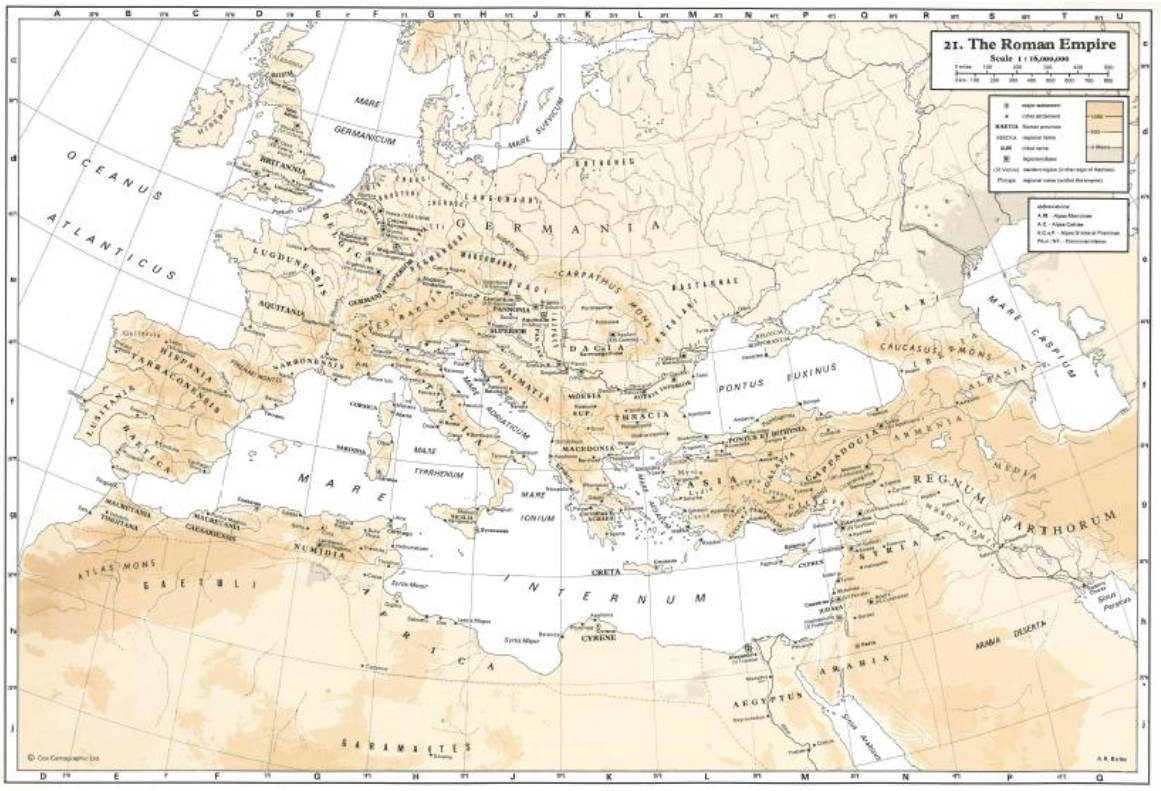

Figure Two: Map of the Roman Empire. Image from Hammond ed. (1981), Map 21.

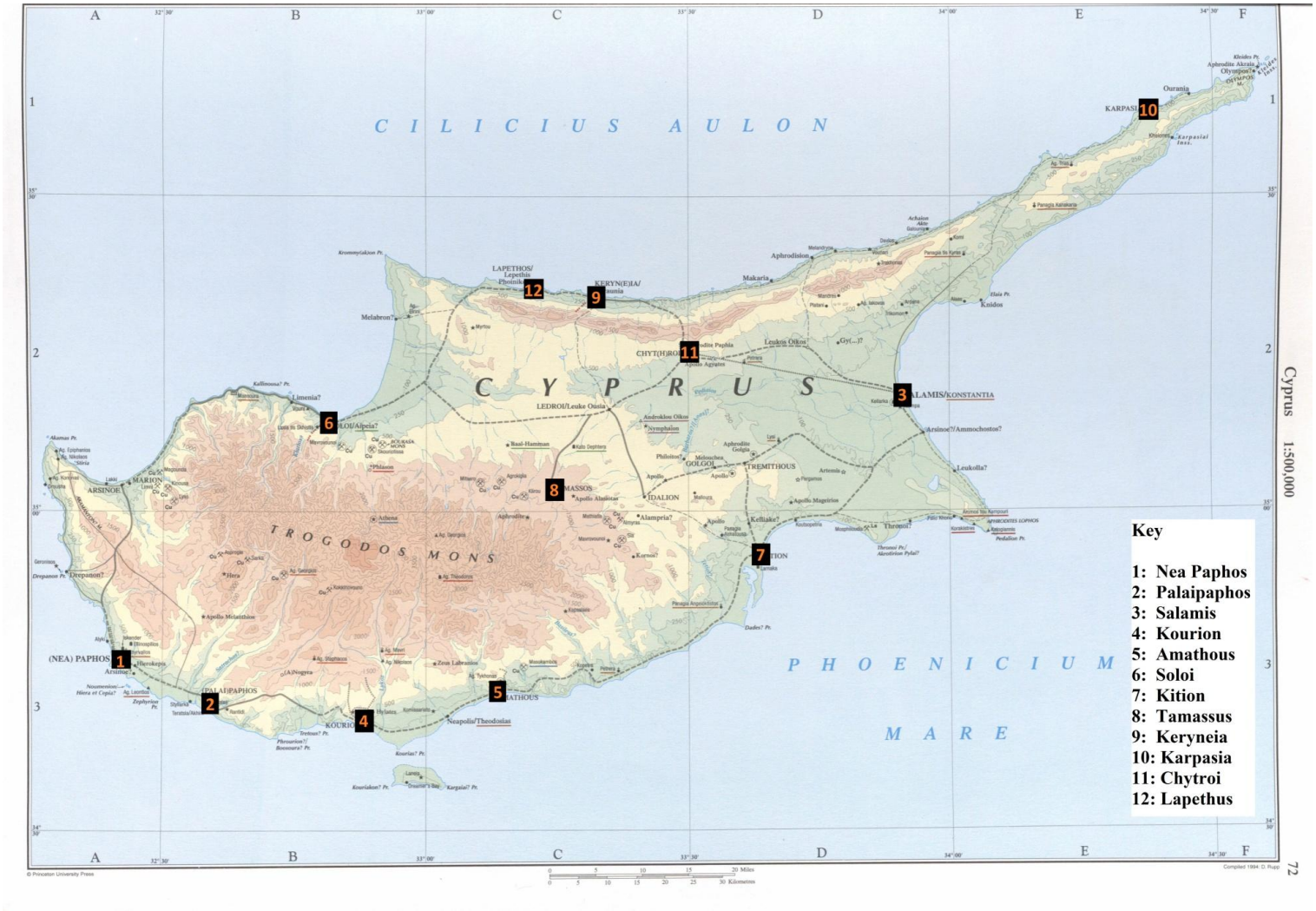

Figure Three: The *poleis* of Roman Cyprus. Image from Talbert (2000), 72. Labels and key added by the author.

Figure Four: Coin of Cleopatra VII and Ptolemy XV Caesarion depicted as Aphrodite and Eros on the obverse. Image from *RPC* Vol. I.II, no. 3901.

Figure Five: Coin of Vespasian. Obverse: Laureate head of Vespasian. Reverse: Zeus Olympios standing, holding *patera* in right hand, left hand resting on a sceptre, with an eagle on his left arm. Image from *RPC* Vol. II.II, no. 1818.

Figure Six: Coin of Vespasian. Obverse: Laureate head of Vespasian. Reverse: Temple of Aphrodite at Paphos with legend of the *Koinon* of Cyprus. Image from *RPC* Vol. II.II, no. 1819.

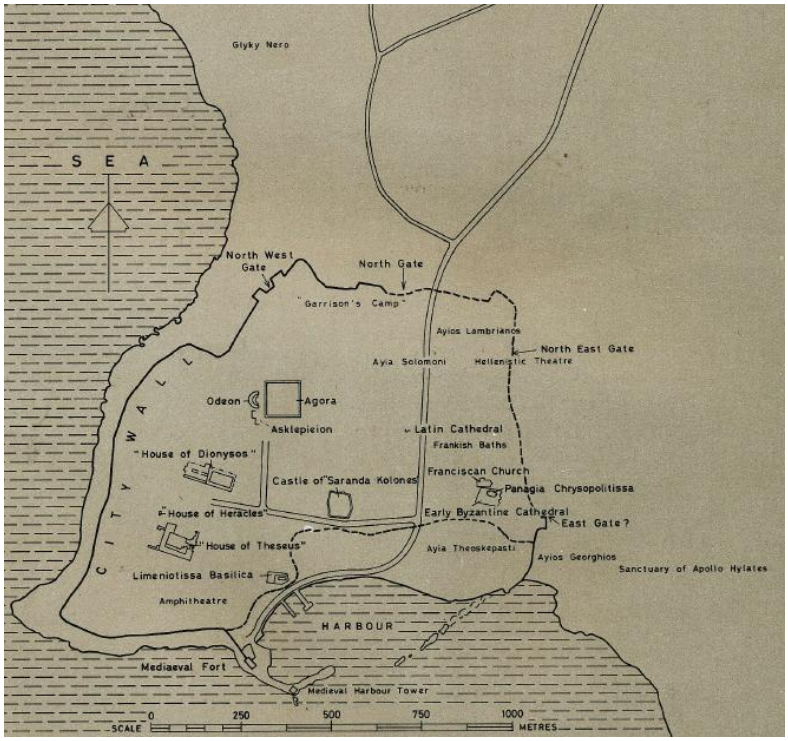

Figure Seven: Map of Nea Paphos. Image from Maier and Karageorghis (1984), 227, figure 208.

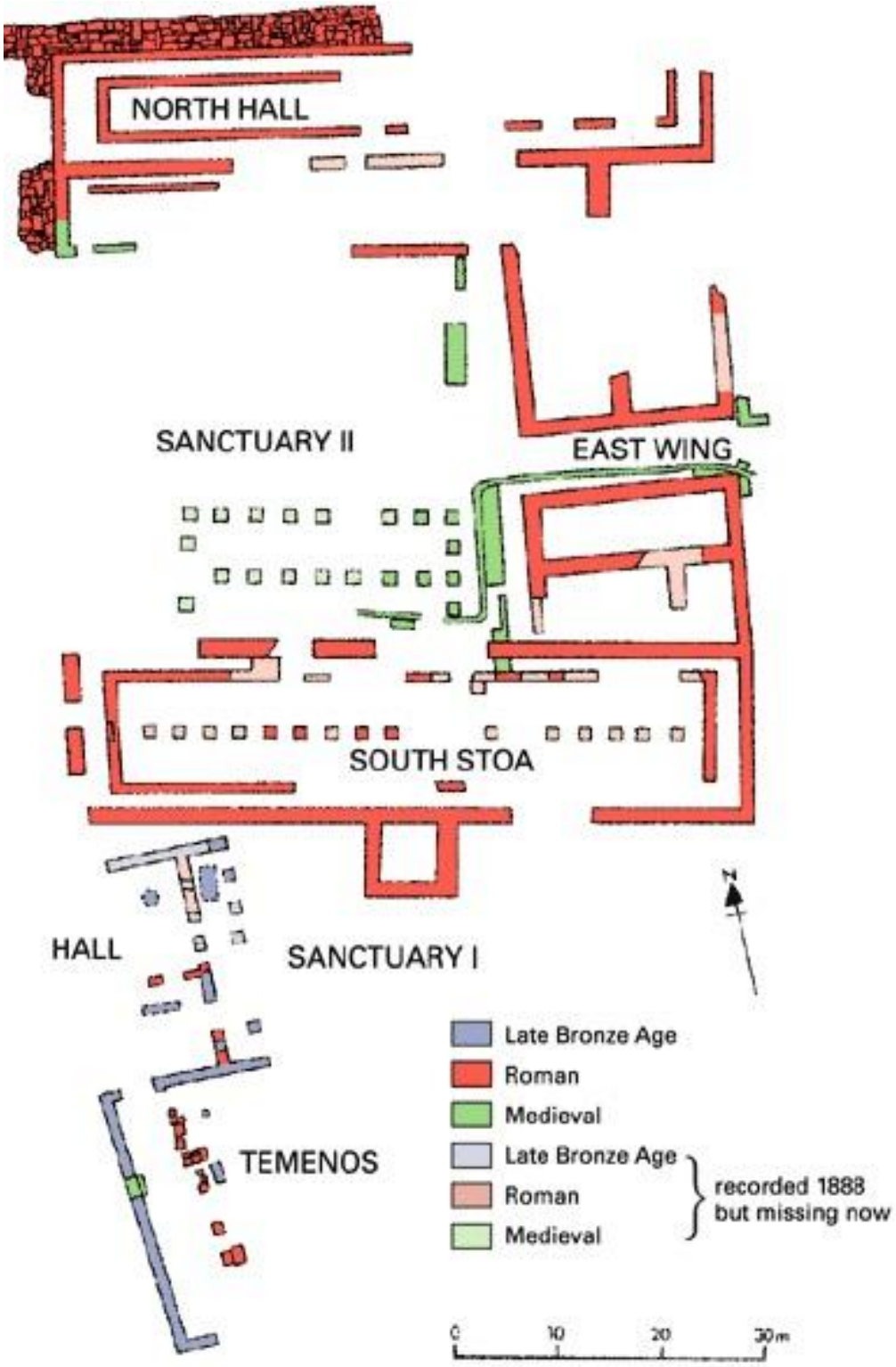

Figure Eight: Ground plan of the sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia, Palaipaphos. Image from: http://www.hist.uzh.ch/ag/paphos/project/aphrodite/index.html Last Accessed: 01/04/12.

Figure Nine: The Sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia at Palaipaphos. Photograph taken by the author.

Figure Ten: The Sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia at Palaipaphos. Arrangement of archaeological material. Photograph taken by the author.

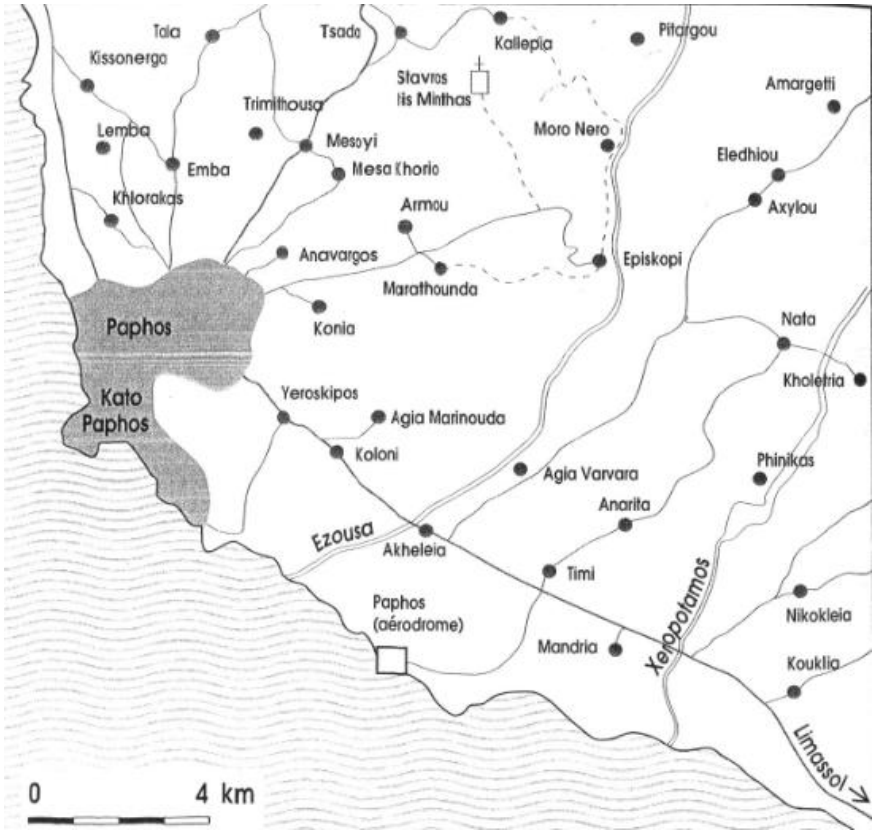

Figure Eleven: Plan of the Paphos Region. Image from Masson (1994), 262, figure 1.

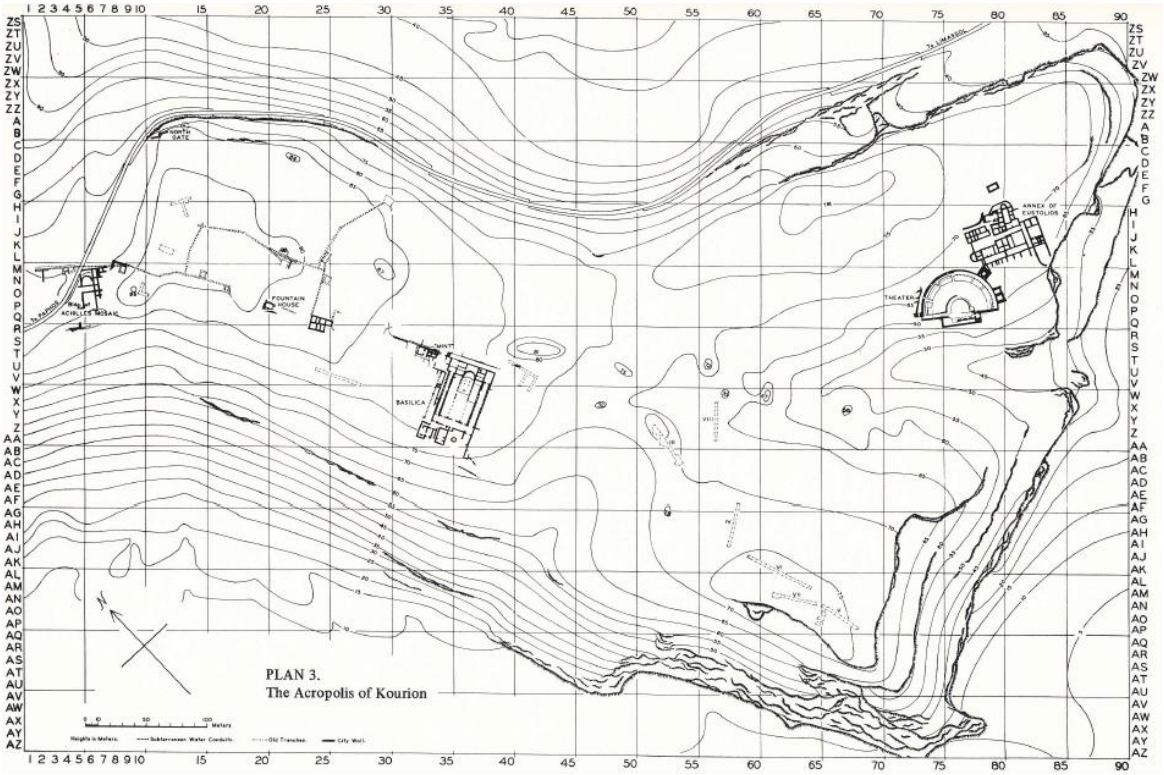

Figure Twelve: The *acropolis* of Kourion. Image from *I.Kourion*, plan 3.

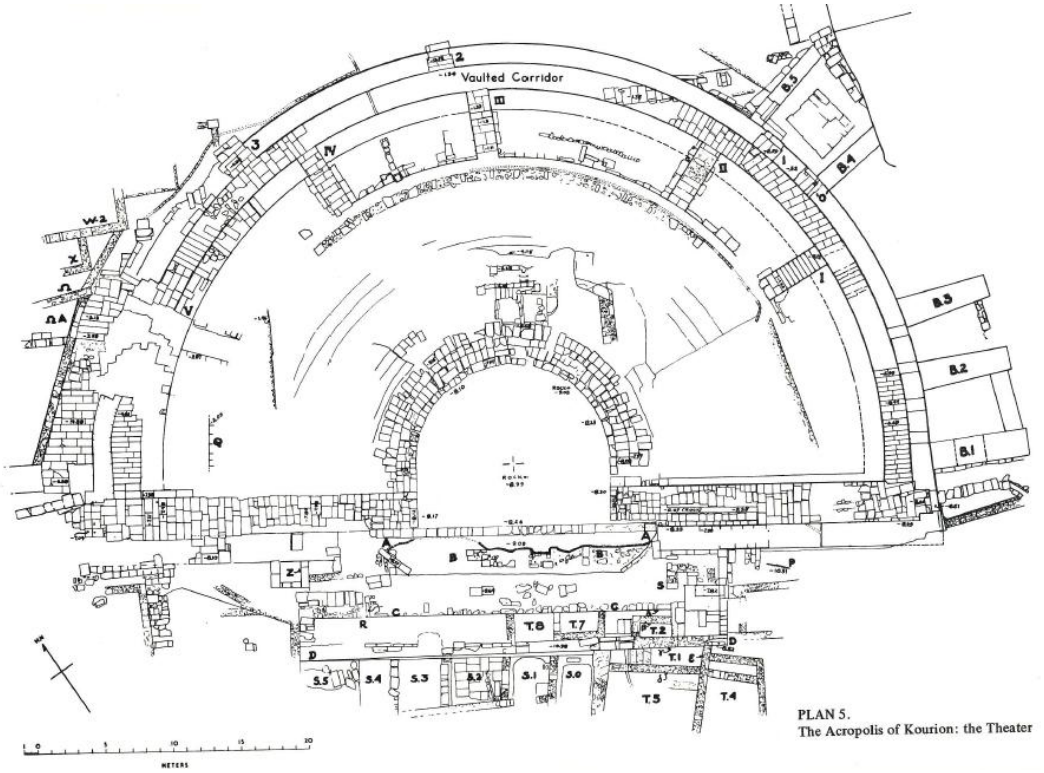

Figure Thirteen: Plan of Kourion's theatre. Image from *I.Kourion*, plan 5.

Figure Fourteen: The theatre of Kourion. Photo taken by the author.

Figure Fifteen: Mosaic from the House of Eustolios with *I.Kourion*, no. 202. Photo taken by the author.

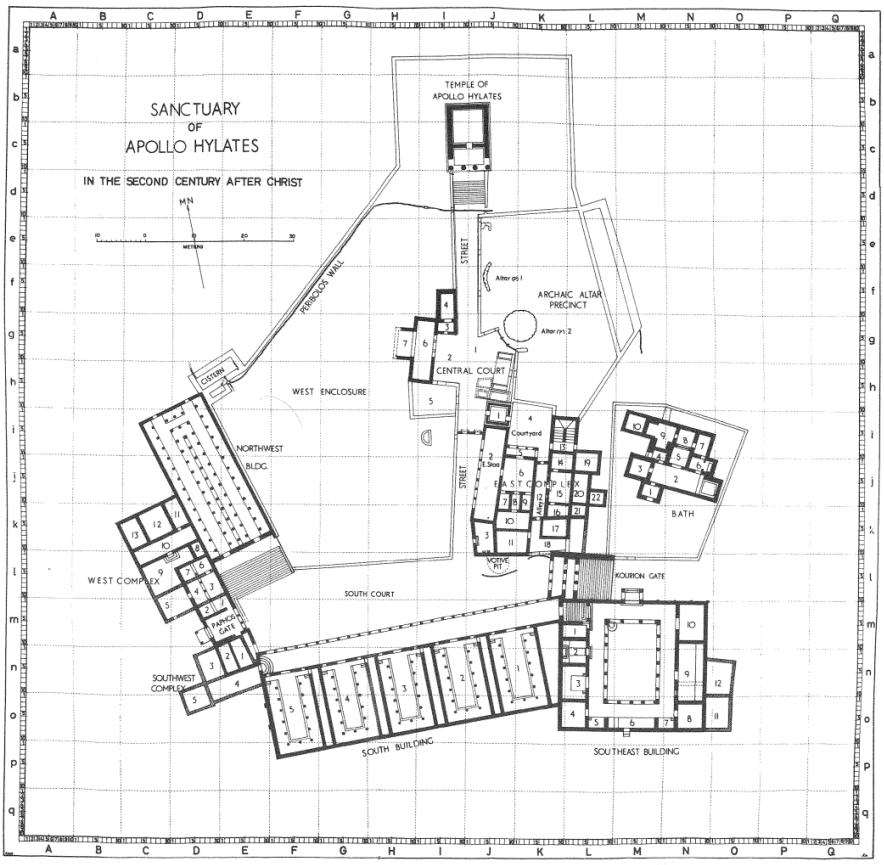

Figure Sixteen: Plan of the sanctuary of Apollo Hylates. Image from *I.Kourion*, plan 2.

Figure Seventeen: The temple of Apollo Hylates. Photo taken by the author.

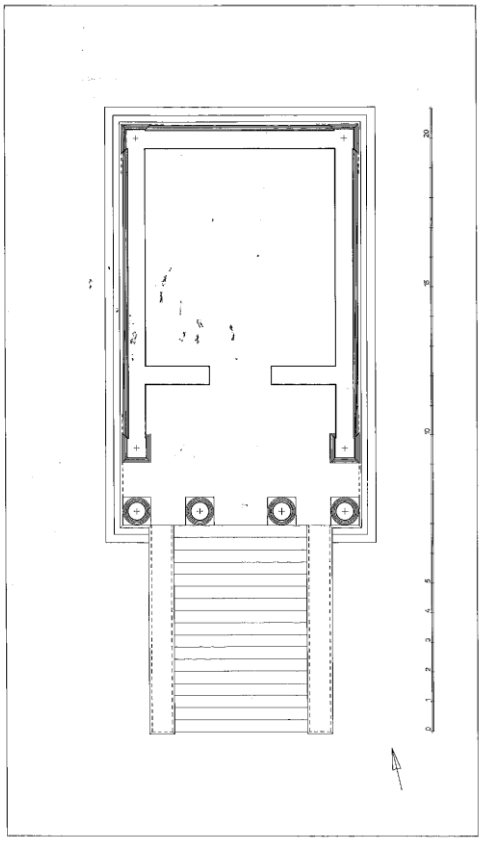

Figure Eighteen: A restored ground plan of the temple of Apollo Hylates. Image from Sinos (1990), 224, figure 248.

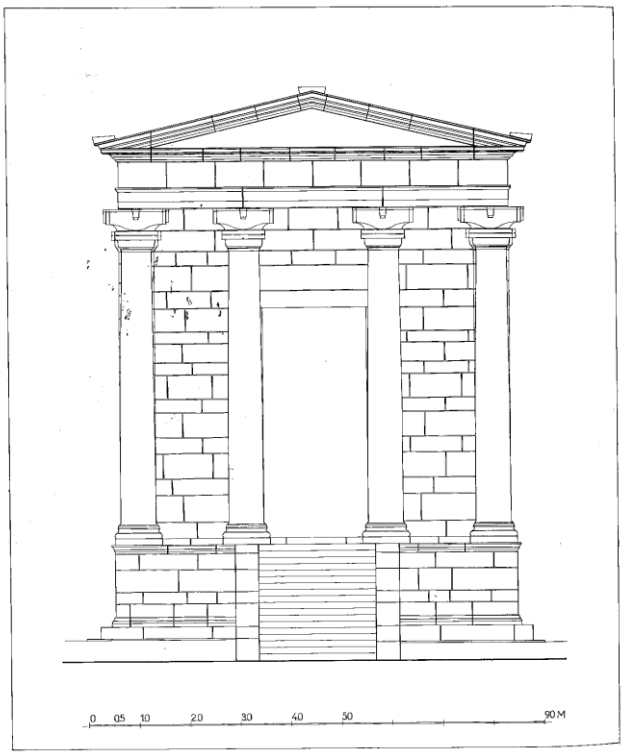

Figure Nineteen: The temple of Apollo Hylates, first building phase. Image from Sinos ed. (1990), 230, figure 253.

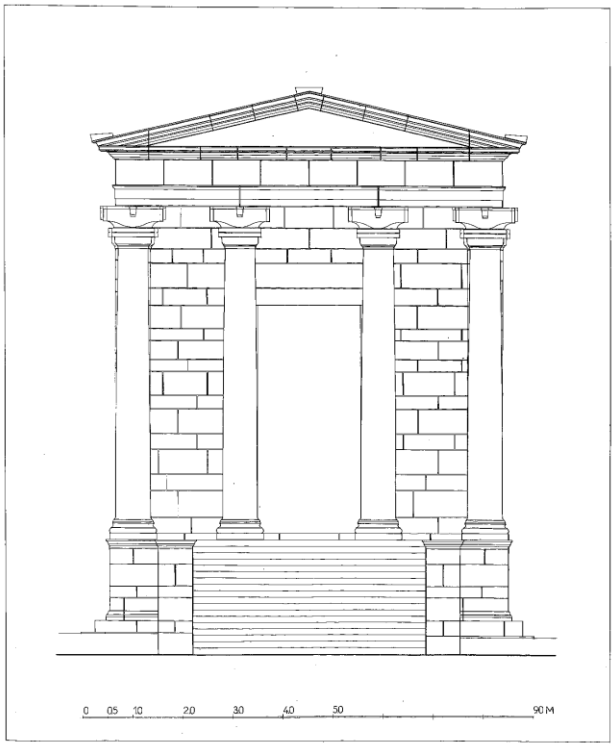

Figure Twenty: The temple of Apollo Hylates, second building phase. Image from Sinos (1990), 231, figure 254.

Figure Twenty-One: A perspective drawing of the temple of Apollo Hylates. Image from Sinos (1990), 236, figure 257.

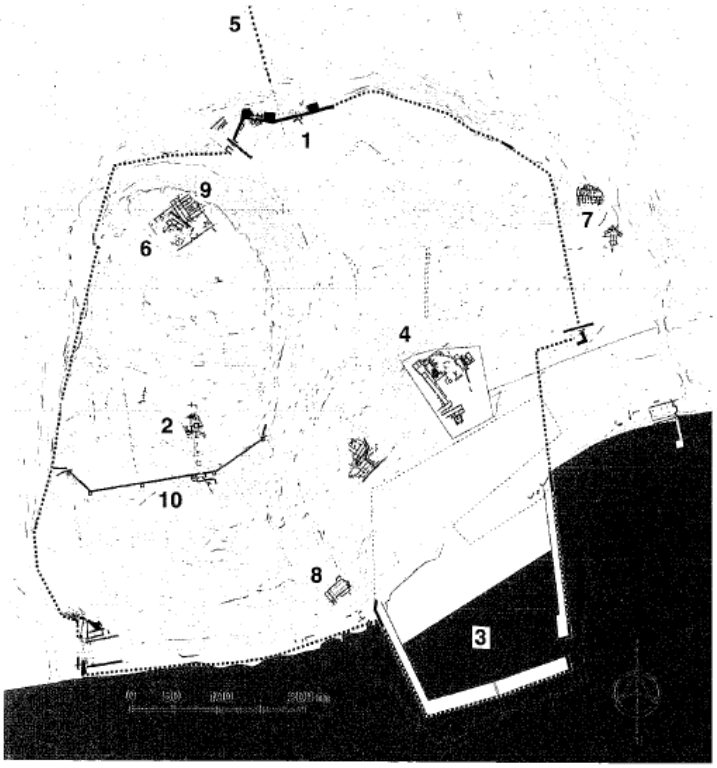

Figure Twenty-Two: General ground plan of Amathous. Image from Fourrier and Hermary (2006), figure 2.

Figure Twenty-Three: The remains of Amathous as seen from the *acropolis*. Photo taken by the author.

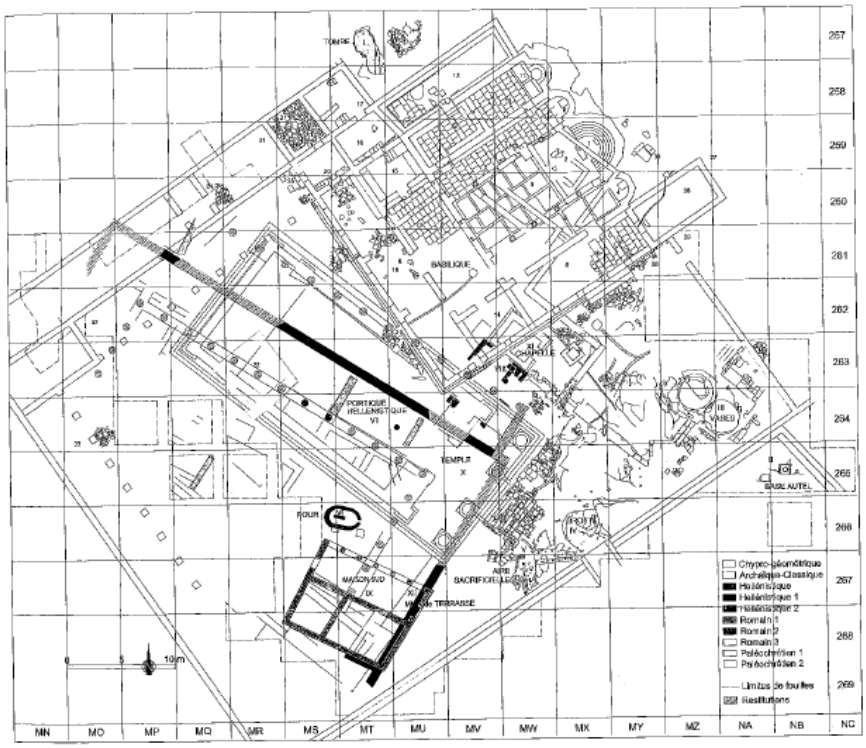

Figure Twenty-Four: The *acropolis* of Amathous, showing the sanctuary of Aphrodite. Image from Fourrier and Hermary (2006), figure 3.

Figure Twenty-Five: The *acropolis* and sanctuary of Aphrodite at Amathous. Photo taken by the author.

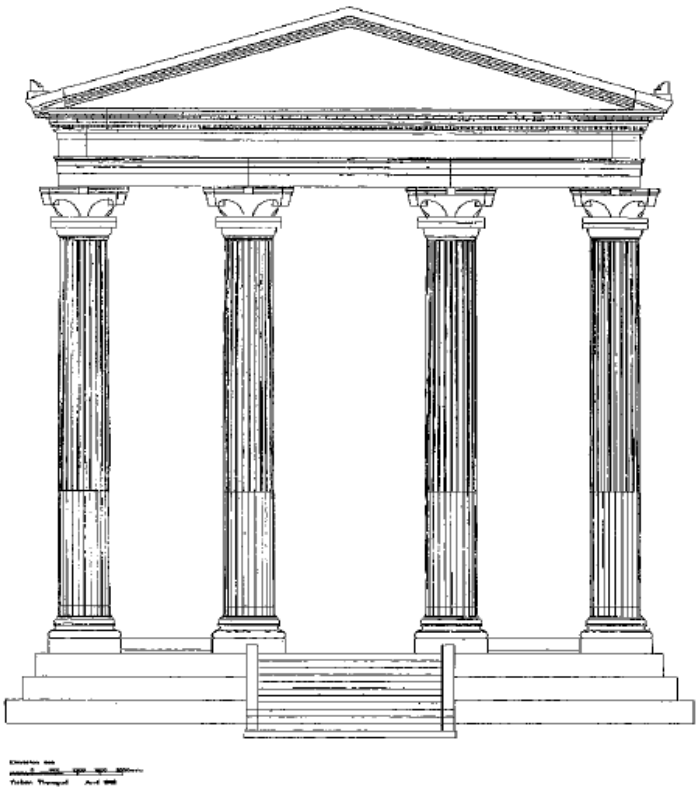

Figure Twenty-Six: Reconstruction of the temple of Aphrodite of Amathous. Image from Aupert (2009), 40, figure 12.

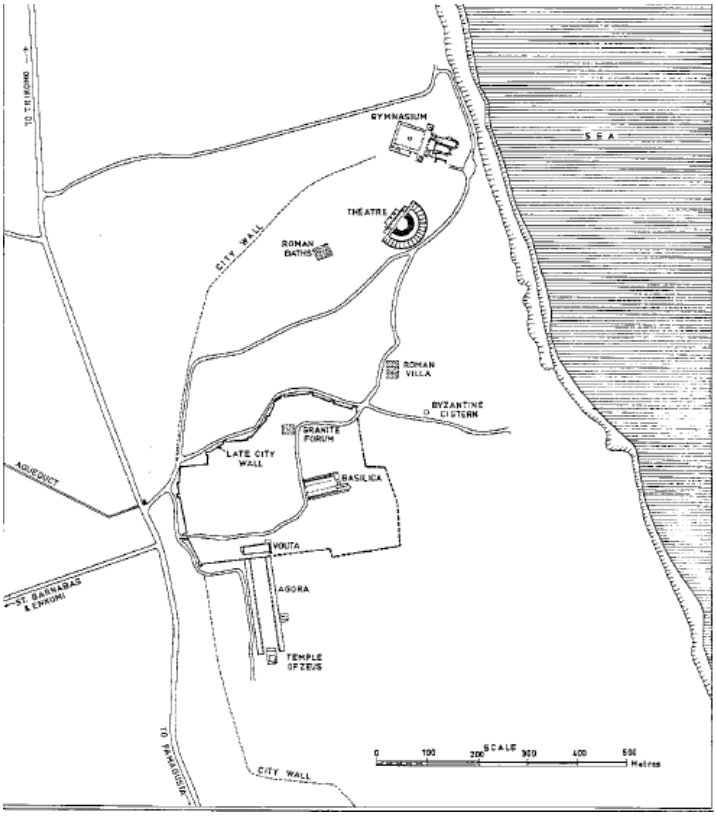

Figure Twenty-Seven: Area plan of Salamis. Image from *I.Salamis*, xvi.

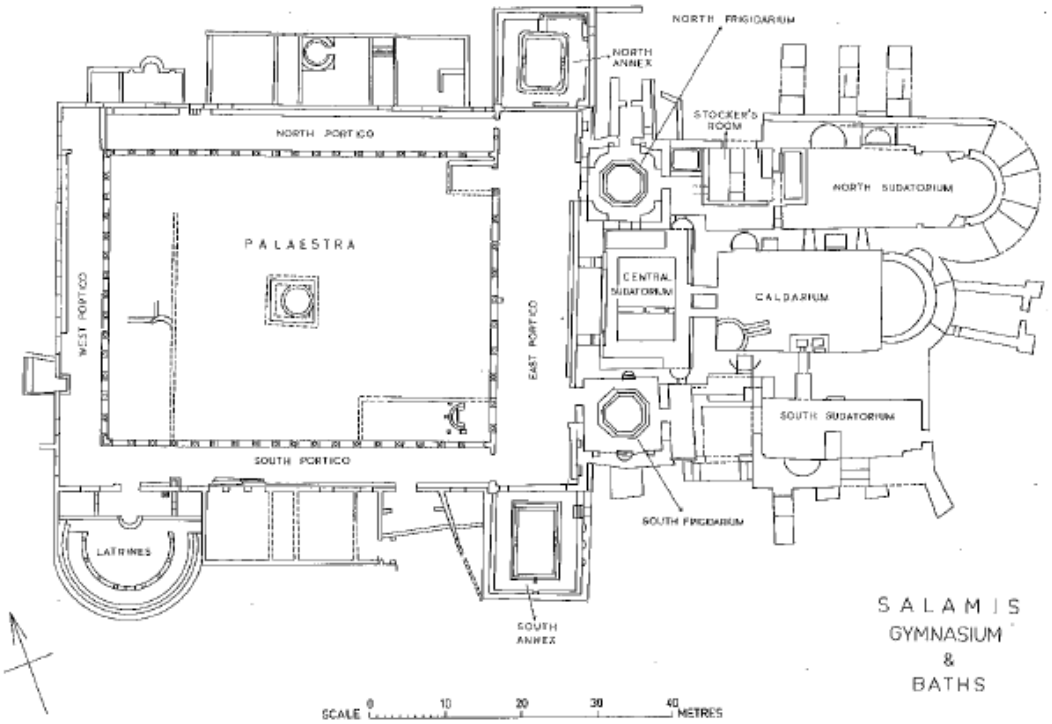

Figure Twenty-Eight: Ground plan of Salamis' *gymnasium* and baths. Image from *I.Salamis*, 4.

Figure Twenty-Nine: The *gymnasium* of Salamis. Photo taken by the author.

Figure Thirty: The unexcavated amphitheatre of Salamis. Photo taken by the author.

Figure Thirty-One: The theatre of Salamis. Photo taken by the author.

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